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WHY HOMICIDE HAS INCREASED IN THE UNITED STATES.—II.

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BARBARISM AND CIVILIZATION.

THE special conditions under which North American civilization has been developed are such that the results, even with respect to the white race, present an intermingling of the effects and dangers of the maximum of civilization and the maximum of barbarism. The types developed by Aryan civilization are twofold; the first is a type of violence, where the struggle for existence is met by force, political power, and wealth, which unite and maintain themselves by arms to the detriment of the weak; and as competition between ancient communities was supported by armed forces, so at the present time litigation is frequently anticipated and solved by violent means. Brigandage may be regarded as a species of natural adaptation to the conditions arising from bad government. When the police fail to provide protection against oppression and crime, when the ministers of the law tyrannize over the weak and are blind to the wrongdoing of the strong, then brigandage, like the *camorra*, steps in and opposes cunning and force to the evil conditions existing. In other words, it becomes a sort of wild justice, substituting its own sav-

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age methods for the civil justice which is lacking. Thus, during the time of serfdom in Russia, the mujik had no defence save homicide against the intolerable tyranny of his master, the consequence being that there was hardly a great family in the country but could count a number of assassinations among its members.

"The *Cafoni*," testified Govone before a commission of inquiry in Southern Italy, "consider brigandage as the avenger of the wrongs they suffer at the hands of society." "We have," wrote Franchetti, "a class of peasants who are almost agricultural slaves, and, on the other hand, a group of persons who appear to hold themselves superior to the law; so that the former, finding that the law affords them no protection, have acquired the habit of taking justice into their own hands." Add to this the savage prejudice, widely inculcated, that he who would not avenge an insult is no man, and, therefore, that manly dignity demands that he should execute justice himself and not through the medium of the law, and it becomes evident how violence comes to be considered a virtue. So rooted was this idea that up to a very recent period a Roman woman of the people would have refused to marry a man who had never used his dagger, and no husband would ever assist the authorities to place their hands upon a robber or an assassin.

The other and more modern type of civilization shows a tendency, with the growth of government offices, universities, charitable institutions, hospitals, etc., to desert the small centres and to establish itself in more active communities where the criminally inclined find greater inducements and greater impunity, and where the mere fact of agglomeration frequently acts as a spur to crime and immorality.

In such a state of civilization the struggle for existence is carried on with craft and deceit; the cavilling of lawyers takes the place of the duel; political power is acquired, not by force of arms, but with money extracted from the pockets of others by official fraud or by tricks of the exchanges; while commercial war is carried on not only by perfecting the means of production, but also by deceit and by adulterations, which furnish the illusion of cheapness.

Each of these types of civilization has its corresponding special type of criminality. The one accompanied by violence has within

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it a spirit of atavic criminality. It shows a tendency to return to primitive conditions, to a state of barbarism, which blunts the moral sense. Far from shuddering at homicide, it frequently considers that crime as heroic, and revenge as a duty. Crimes of blood are thus multiplied and the formation of criminal associations encouraged.

In an advanced state of civilization excessive culture introduces new forms of crime; such, for instance, as homicide for the purpose of collecting insurance, or murder by means of arsenic acid in times of cholera.*

Civilization, by weakening family ties, not only tends to increase the number of foundlings (to become future criminals) but also to the abandonment of the aged, and to an increase of rape and infanticide.

Liberal political laws, new forms of popular government, and a free press widely diffused, all favor the formation of corporations, either commercial or for mutual aid. A semblance of politics being infiltered into these, they are sometimes enabled to enjoy immunity for acts which, if committed by an individual, would bring the latter within reach of the law.

These two types of criminality, like the two types of civilization, are to be found in the United States. In some of the newer States where civilization has only recently penetrated, and to which has been attracted the least cultured class of immigrants, the population is sparse and the means of social defence are few. In some parts of those sections, acquired as they were by methods all too primitive—that is, by violently expelling the red-man—homicide may be said to be the only defence in case the settler's rights are transgressed. Those who invaded the territory of the Indian and who based their rights upon conquest, thought no more of killing a red-man than a hunter would of killing a monkey, and the consequence was they became so accustomed to homicide that the instinct has not yet become eradicated. The same may be said of the former slave holders, who were so used to disposing of the lives of their slaves that no

* In Vienna there was found to exist an association of mendicants who had their passports, false declarations, and a corps of travelling agents, the latter receiving 30 per cent. for information furnished by them. Armand had conceived the crime of feigning to have been bound and nearly strangled by his employer, from whom he would subsequenty demand hush-money. The knowledge that the symtoms of cholera are similar to those produced by arsenic acid poison suggested to two doctors, during a cholera epidemic, the idea of insuring their patients and then poisoning them with that drug.

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more importance was attached to the life of a negro than to that of a domestic animal in Europe.

The barbarous condition still continues in those States which have been but recently admitted to the Union, and is rampant in those where gold is sought for in vast solitudes where man returns to almost the primitive state, and where his own individual energy or that of a small group—I might almost say clan—is the surest guarantee of defence and of the accomplishment of his aim. Under circumstances like these, violence frequently becomes legitimate and homicide an act of defence. Even when the cause has ceased, and when the law, with that rapidity which is only witnessed in the Northern States, steps in and asserts itself, as in California, even then respect for human life is not deeply rooted. Homicides continue frequent, authority is defied, whether it be for the purpose of destroying industrial competition or putting an end to private strifes, or for the purpose of revenge. Frequently a criminal society is seen dominating a wide extent of country by instituting a reign of terror in the community. Such were the Molly Maguires and the White Caps, so powerful a few years ago in the Central States.

No less numerous are the crimes provoked by what may be termed the excessive civilization and too rapid progress of the United States. The vast extent of the country, containing immense tracts of virgin soil, and the long lines of railroad, great stretches of which are hundreds of miles distant from any civilized centre, furnish opportunities for a special crime, train wrecking for the purpose of robbery, resulting frequently in the killing of the passengers. In addition to this, owing to the vast development of the railroad system and the great speed at which trains are run in obedience to the demands of feverish American life, railroad accidents, with their attendant casualties, are so frequent that from 1888 to 1892 30,000 people are said to have been killed and 50,000 wounded in such disasters.

Even some of the greatest and most important of the economical associations of America, as for example that of life insurance, furnish to heartless speculators in human life incentives for assassination; and again progress in chemical and toxicological science is brought into the service of crime, as witness the case of Holmes, to whom poison served as the means and life insurance the motive for the commission of his nefarious deeds. So true

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it seems to be that no great benefit is introduced but it is accompanied in its train by some deplorable evil. In fact, not only chemical and toxicological science, but all the other facilities of modern times are brought into play for the commission of crime, notably the telegraph, the telephone and the advertising columns of the newspapers, the latter being employed even in Australia, where not a few crimes have been occasioned by life insurance and facilitated by advertisements in the press. Even progress in liberty—that progress which has placed America in the vanguard of civilization—has at times been made the occasion of sanguinary crimes, as witness the cases of presidential assassination at the hands of political fanatics. To the same cause may be attributed the woundings and killings during electoral and especially during Presidential campaigns, which are not infrequent occurrences in the United States.

It is precisely this great American liberty which, by confounding politics with justice, particularly at the time of elections, occasionally renders the judges partial to criminals of their own party, thus weakening the law and the police, and converting these into mere instruments of a political faction. These forces become still more inadequate by reason of the limited number of officials and by the fact that their term of office lasts for but a brief period. To this must be added the further fact that, as the action of the law and the police is confined within the limits of the State, it would seem that there must be a tendency toward insufficiency and tardiness in the repression of crime. This explains, if it does not justify, public executions, which may, for the public welfare, serve as a counterpoise to judicial subtility and the insufficiency of the police, but are often the cause of a new kind of homicide perhaps graver in its effects, since it accustoms the most civilized and humane people in the world to scenes of violence—to the terrible spectacle of collective homicide, a spectacle which at times seems to produce the very crime it is supposed to repress.

Hence it is that, with a view to preventing this tendency and to debar the public from witnessing the spectacle of capital punishment, several of the States have provided for the infliction of the death penalty within the confines of the prison. But one might ask, what do these rare cases of humane precaution avail, when impunity is accorded to the parties engaged in those nu-

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merous public executions which are the result of lynch law, and in which otherwise honest men are not only spectators but willing participants; executions where frequently the solemnity (at least apparent) of legal capital punishment is superseded by ribaldry and brutal laughter, where not only is the supposed culprit put to death, presumably for the public welfare, but the crowd enjoys the sight of his frequently prolonged suffering, thus reviving mediæval torture for the sake of the diversion and enjoyment of the mob.

Further, as I have before observed, a high state of civilization seems to lead to the abuse of stimulating and exciting substances such as alcohol, cocaine, and hashish; for, the nervous centres being more keenly developed, there ensues a greater necessity for nervous excitement. Hence the statistics showing 20 per cent. of purely alcoholic homicides, a figure which would probably be greatly increased if we were able to give the number, certainly not insignificant, of morphiomaniacs, the victims of cocaine and ether, etc., who are led to crime by these intoxicants.

I think I should add as an additional cause of crime that stimulus to imitation, the publication by the press of minute details of criminal incidents, reports of the police courts, accompanied by portraits, autographs, and biographies of criminals, all of which becomes more harmful when we consider that it is furnished to a community where but 22 per cent. of the native criminals are illiterate,

Some people, as La Place has well said, inherit from nature an organism prone to evil, but they do not indulge in evil acts until they are incited thereto by hearing of or witnessing the crimes of others. Some years ago a package of checks was found wrapped in a piece of paper upon which the thief had written these unhappy lines taken from a romance by Bourrasque: "Conscience is a word invented to scare the ignorant and to constrain them to drag out their lives in misery. Thrones and millions are acquired only by fraud and violence." The page containing these sentiments had been fatal to him.

Imitation, especially when it arises from newspaper reading, is a fruitful source of homicide. It was observed that barely had the news of the murder of Bishop Sibour been published, when two other bishops were assassinated, and the report of the trial of Philippe, the strangler of servant girls, brought forth imitators in

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the shape of Billoir and Moyau; while Grimaud first of all attempted incendiarism, then killed his wife and threw nitric acid into the face of a friend, simply because he had read about similar crimes in the newspapers and he wished to achieve a like notoriety. In 1851 a woman in New York murdered her husband, and it was only a few days later that several others perpetrated the same crime. The crime of Troppmann produced such a sensation that for several days the circulation of the *Petit Journal* rose to 500,000 and that of *Figaro* to 250,000 per day; and it is a fact that, very shortly afterwards, this wretch found an imitator in Belgium by the name of Mouster. Another curious proof of the force of example in such cases was seen in Turin. It was found one morning that the bank of Signor R—— had been broken into. The police arrested the secretary, in whose house was discovered the stolen money, which he declared he had taken without any intention of using it; in fact, he could readily have stolen it without breaking in, but he desired to put in practice a crime similar to one of which he had read in the papers a few days before. His employer declared his confidence in the truth of the secretary's story, for he knew him to be an inveterate newspaper reader, and as soon as the culprit was released from jail he was reinstated in his old position.

Finally, there is that perpetual quota (which I have calculated to form 26 per cent.) of born criminals, almost all of them epileptics or morally insane—persons whom no civilization could cure, and who are to be found in all countries, including England, which has the lowest minimum of homicide. Train robbers are, for the most part, probably of this class; they are attracted to that very dangerous crime after having committed highway robbery and murder, simply because they are born criminals, and they become such preys to the vanity of crime that the most obtuse of police might recognize them at a glance. Thus, Bosco tells us of a certain working mechanic, who, after leading a criminal career in Texas, engaged in a certain train robbery, and was wounded in the act. The day after the crime he made his appearance at a resort in St. Louis, and accounted for his wound by saying that he received it while hunting; but shortly afterwards, upon reading in the newspaper the account of his crime, he could not restrain himself from exclaiming, as he showed the paper, that he himself had participated in the affair, thus illustrat-

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ing the singular fact that men, otherwise intelligent and enterprising, are driven by a desire to gratify a criminal vanity to expose themselves to arrest and punishment.

The Remedy. As the physician never permits himself to expose a disease without suggesting the remedy, the reader is justified in asking what remedy I would suggest to check this prevalence of homicide in the United States.

To this inquiry I would reply that there will always be a certain number of homicides; for, as before shown, there is to be found in all countries a number of born criminals whose evil propensities no degree of civilization can suppress. So true is this that even in England, where it may be said every expedient has been tried to reclaim the occasional criminal, it has been demonstrated that there are certain individuals and, in fact, entire families who constantly and inevitably return to crime. The same thing has been said of another central European country which has done most to seek and to find remedies against such criminality and where religion has devoted itself to the task. refer to Switzerland. Geneva has its quota of habitual criminals, but this has been reduced by means suggested by the anthropological criminalist, such for instance as the establishment of colonies for the incorrigible and selection schools, which the United States, ever on the alert for new improvements, is about to adopt. By so doing, it will succeed in minimizing homicide long before European nations, which are opposed to changes and prefer to be killed rather than leave the old and beaten judiciary track laid out by the Roman code.

All those causes due in the United States to the opening up of new territories and the founding of new cities in sections conquered from the Indians, are fast disappearing. There will soon be no more reservations left to appropriate, and when not an acre of land will be left to the poor red man. The example of Massachusetts will eventually be followed by other States, and civilization, extending itself over the country like a torrent, will level all distinctions arising from race and climate. Even the excessive increase of homicide will cease and the quota furnished by this crime will be similar to that furnished by any Anglo-Saxon community, that race which is absorbing and assimilating all those who emigrate to its midst. But, in order to hasten this transformation as far as it affects crime, such legislation should be under-

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taken as will result in a speedier suppression of the criminal by abolishing certain judicial formulas, doing away with the delays interposed by the wiles of lawyers, giving more independence to the police, divorcing the administration of the law from politics, and limiting the practice of liberating, under bail, those charged with the commission of crime; for it is these abuses which have led to the adoption of lynch law.

It is not to be expected that a country so jealous of its liberties as the United States will consent to any restriction of freedom of the press, even for the purpose of circumventing crime; but it would at least seem that societies similar to the Temperance Society might try to modify public opinion so as to implant in it that same laudable reticence and pudicity in treating of sanguinary crimes as is observed in cases of offences against good morals, and that the homicide should inspire the same horror and detestation as is aroused by the criminal who gives rein to his carnal and brutal instincts. By this means homicide would diminish, since one of the strongest of modern motives for this crime, namely imitation and love of notoriety, would be removed. When we think of the enormous interest Holmes succeeded in arousing, the hundreds of letters he received in jail, his autographs scattered far and wide, his portrait and his every act published in thousands of newspapers—when we think of all this, we can understand what must have been its effect on the born criminal, possessed as he is of a profound sense of criminal and personal vanity, and what a powerful incentive was furnished him by this wide notoriety, an incentive which will grow stronger with time and culture as the press proceeds to invade the most remote and isolated spots in the country.

In view of the relatively large proportion of homicides among miners, namely 3.2 per cent., while in the community at large it is but 1.6 per cent., and knowing as we do how laborious is their toil, how they are addicted to the use of alcoholic liquors and in what light esteem they hold human life, we can readily understand that if their conditions were ameliorated by protecting them against the oppression of the mining companies and facilitating their means of raising a family, there would be fewer homicides among them, just as there are already fewer among mechanics. These latter, while furnishing a high percentage of homicides in Europe, contribute but a small one in the United States.

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Some measures have already been adopted and applied for correcting immigration evils, such as requiring the immigrant to possess a certain grade of intelligence and a certain amount of capital; not unreasonable when it is considered that 35 per cent. of the homicides in the United States are committed by foreigners of no education.

The immigration rules referred to will, likewise, serve to prevent many of the violent assaults and homicides provoked by bad economic conditions and by ill-treatment at the hands of some of the immigrant's own countrymen who cruelly speculate in the newcomer's labor. If there were a group of government officials whose duty it was to examine the newly-arrived immigrants and to distribute them throughout the country by explaining to them what sections and what industries offer the greatest advantages, the latter would be freed from the heartless cruelty of the boss or padrone and from speculators, whose swindling practices frequently provoke a frenzied reaction.

As regards the negroes, while we cannot say that they are irredeemable, since they have already made considerable progress, it will probably take a long time to infuse among them such a degree of intellectual culture as will refine them and develop their moral sense, for the impulsive and lower instincts are the last to disappear. These, in fact, have not been entirely eradicated even from the white race, as mobs frequently demonstrate. Societies have been formed for the promotion of negro emigration to Africa, and others for the purpose of relieving the congestion of the cities and spreading the surplus urban population over the country and away from the large centers, all of which, if feasible, will tend to modify the evil I have referred to. Those laws, institutions, and societies directed against alcoholism, and which make America a model for the world, have already produced a powerful effect, for, as I have shown, the percentage of alcoholic homicide now is but 20 per cent., while in other countries it is as high as 70 per cent. It is to be hoped that with an increased propaganda and energy this satisfactory showing will become still more favorable; for a decreased consumption of alcohol means less insanity, less misery, fewer suicides, less epilepsy and sterility, and at the same time tends to a decrease in such crimes as assaults, brawls, and thefts, which are largely due to alcohol.

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Finally, when institutions similar to the one at Elmira come to be multiplied, we may confidently hope that the occasional criminal will be almost a thing of the past, and besides the glory of such an initiative, America would thus enjoy the direct advantage of a decrease in her criminal population, especially if, to the admirable institutions referred to, she should add a penal colony for the incorrigible where the latter might procure the means of subsistence by their labor, or perish if they refused to toil. This would be simply to place them in the same conditions as the honest man has to confront, instead of leaving them as now to prey on the community.

With respect to the final cause of crime which I have before referred to, that is, the coexistence of the two types of barbarism and civilization, of violence and fraud, every day that passes is tending to decrease and suppress the barbarous type by reason of constantly increasing culture among all classes, accompanied by a horror of war and a desire for the abolition of standing armies —which, after all, are nothing but the official representatives of barbarism—and also by a diminished sphere of conquest.

Another evil which the future is likely to cure is the tendency of the agricultural population to crowd into the large cities; for the United States more than any other country is introducing reforms intended to make life in the small towns and agricultural centres more attractive, that is, by giving them parks, squares, theatres, and other city adjuncts. Furthermore, the saloon influence is being combated by temperance and religious societies. Coffee houses and places of popular entertainment are being provided for the masses, and these tend to draw men away from bar-rooms which, being frequented by the criminal element, constitute a fruitful source of crime. All this will, without doubt, result in a diminution of homicide which, while sufficiently frequent, as shown by statistics, is in reality no more so than among other civilized people, when we deduct that proportion which is chargeable to the negroes.

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THE PASSING OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY.

BY THE HON. W. A. PEFFER, LATE U. S. SENATOR FOR KANSAS.

THAT the People's party is passing must be evident to all observers. *Why* it is going and *where,* are obviously questions of present public concern.

The party has a good and sufficient excuse for its existence. With our great war old issues were overshadowed and new forces came into play. The suspension of specie payments forced the government to adopt a new monetary policy, and the ignorance and prejudices of lawmakers afforded bankers a tempting opportunity, of which they promptly availed themselves, to use the public credit for purposes of speculation. Our currency was converted into coin interest-paying bonds, the word "coin" was construed to mean *gold,* and the minting of silver dollars was discontinued. The general level of prices fell to the cost line or below it, and the people were paying seven to ten per cent. annual interest on an enormous private debt. Personal property in towns and cities was rapidly passing beyond the view of the tax-gatherer. Agriculture was prostrate. Farmers were at the mercy of speculators; the earth had come under the dominion of landlords; forests and mines were owned by syndicates; railway companies were in combination; wealth and social influence had usurped power, and the seat of government was transferred to Wall Street.

These abuses were fruits of our legislation. Congress had forgotten the people and turned their business over to the money-changers. Both of the great political parties then active were wedded to these vicious policies which were despoiling the farmers and impoverishing the working classes generally. Gold was king and a new party was needed to shorten its reign.

And hence it was that the People's party was born. It came

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into being that government by the people might not perish from the earth. It planted itself on the broad ground of equality of human rights. It believed the earth is the people's heritage and that wealth belongs to him who creates it; that the work of distributing the products and profits of labor ought to be performed by public agencies; that money should be provided by the government and distributed through government instrumentalities so that borrowers might secure its use at an annual charge not exceeding two per cent., which is equal to two thirds of the net average savings of the whole people.

Charges for services rendered by private persons or corporations entrusted with public functions—such as railroading and banking—had never before attracted much attention among the common people; and as to interest for the use of money and rent for the use of land, they had been looked upon as things in the natural order, and therefore, being unavoidable, had to be endured. But the gold standard regime had driven the people to thinking. They saw that while they were paying from ten to a hundred per cent., according to the pressure of their necessities, for the use of money, the annual increase of the country's taxable wealth had but little exceeded three per cent., including the advance of values by reason of settlement and labor. And rent, they saw, was the same thing as interest on the estimated value of the property. If all the people working together as one cannot save more than three per cent. a year, when in possession of a vast area that did not cost them more than two cents an acre, is it cause for wonder that they did not thrive when paying three or four times that rate for the use of money? And was there not something radically wrong in conditions when, in a country so great in extent as this, so rich and varied in resources and populated by freemen under a government of their own choosing, more than half the people were compelled to pay money or other property for the use of land to live on? Why should any man or woman be required to hire space to live in?

Forests are diminished and coal is used for fuel. But the coal is found in great beds under the earth's surface, and these sources of fuel are monopolized by a few men, and the rest of us are forced to pay them not only a price for the coal, but for rent of the land and interest on a fictitious capitalization of corporate franchises. By what authority is one man allowed to take and

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possess more of the resources of nature than are sufficient for his own use and then demand tribute from others who are equally with him entitled to share them? And why shall one man or a company of men be permitted to dictate to other men what wages they shall receive for the labor they perform? And why should an employer be favored by the law rather than the person whom he employs? And by what rule of law or justice are the working masses required to use non-legal tender money in their daily business affairs, while the "primary" money is kept in reserve for the special use of the speculating classes? Why have one kind of money for the rich and another kind for the poor? Why should a stringency in New York City be treated more tenderly than a stringency in any other part of the country? Why pay a premium of 25 per cent. in gold on bonds that have many years yet to run? And why pay interest nine to twelve months before it is due? Why leave $18,000,000 or more without interest for years and years in national banks to be lent by them to their customers at six per cent. and upwards?

Questions like these were suggested by conditions present when the People's party was formed. It was the first great body of men, organized for political purposes, that took up these matters and put them in issue before the country with the view of ultimately securing relief through legislation. Its principles were essentially different from those of the other great parties on every fundamental proposition. Republicans and Democrats were given to old ideas in politics and law. Formed for altogether different purposes, they did not take kindly to any of the proposed reforms that would change established policies. Hence they were attached to the national banking system; they believed that the precious metals only are fit for use as money, and that all other forms of currency and all debts and pecuniary liabilities must be ultimately paid in coin. They believed that only private corporations should be intrusted with the function of issuing paper to be used as currency, and that the people's fiscal affairs ought to be conducted through the agency of private banks. They believed in private ownership of everything not absolutely necessary for the government's use in conducting its operations. They believed the coal mines might properly be owned and operated by corporations with the accompanying privilege of charging

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what they please for the output. They believed in unlimited private ownership of land and in private means of transportation on public highways. The believed that railway and express companies might rightfully tax their patrons enough to pay dividends on a capitalization equal to two or three times the actual value of the property used. They believed that employers might justly dictate the rate of wages to be paid, and that, in case of resistance on the part of the employees, this right may be enforced by the use of military power, if need be.

On the other hand, Populists do not believe these things. They believe that every child has exactly equal rights with those persons who were here when he came; that he is entitled to a place to live, and that, equally with his fellow-men, he is entitled to the use of natural resources of subsistence, including a parcel of vacant land where he may earn a livelihood. Populists believe that the interests of all the people are superior to the interests of a few of them or of one, and that no man or company of men should ever be permitted to monopolize land or franchises to the exclusion of the common rights of all the people or to the detriment of society. They believe that what a man honestly earns is his, and that the workman and his employer ought to have fair play and an equal showing in all disputes about wages. They believe that railways and canals, like the lakes and navigable rivers, ought to belong to the people. They believe that money, like the highway, is made to serve a public use; that dollars, like ships, are instruments of commerce, and that citizens ought not to be subjected to inconvenience or loss from a scarcity of money any more than they should be hindered in their work or their business by reason of a shortage in the supply of wagons, cars or boats. They believe that the people themselves, acting for themselves through their own agencies, should supply all the money required for the prompt and easy transaction of business; that in addition to silver and gold coin, government paper, and only that, ought to be issued and used, that it should be full legal tender and that there should be no discrimination in favor of or against anything which is allowed to circulate as money.

It will be seen that every proposition in this code is intended to be in the interest of the great body of the people and in opposition to class distinctions. The monetary scheme proposed—

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gold, silver, and government paper—is not a new departure; but it provides for unlimited coinage of both metals and an immediate increase of paper money to a limit sufficient for the people's use in their daily business. It opposes land monopoly, which is giving us a class of landlords and pauperizing a million people that are dependent on those who work in coal mines. This new party proposes to get the people in the saddle. Summarized, its party platform was this: Equal rights and opportunities to all: let the people rule. On that it went to the country and received more than a million votes.

A more earnest, enthusiastic, sincere, and disinterested campaign was never entered upon or waged than that of the Populists in 1892, and although the work was done under a continuing fire of ridicule on the part of Republicans and Democrats alike not before equalled in the history of American politics, the new party made a profound impression on the voters.

But early in 1896 it was agreed among the men in lead that an alliance should be formed with the Democrats for the campaign of that year, and now the People's party is afflicted with political anæmia. It took too much Democracy.

Shall the alliance of 1896 be continued? That is the question at issue. Fusionists answer yes, conditionally; Anti-fusionists answer no, unconditionally; and every day the question remains open these parties appear to get farther apart rather than closer together. Fusionists aver that they have not yet determined in favor of perpetual union with another party. That, they say, can be settled later—when they know what the other parties are going to do. Right there is the seat of trouble. If they would only declare against any and every form of alliance or fusion with any of the old parties, that declaration alone would settle the question and bring the party together again, while their failure to do so leaves the matter still in issue, and the breach widens. This claim of the Fusionists that they are simply waiting to see what course the other parties will take, that Populists may avail themselves of whatever strategy there is then in the situation, cannot, in the opinion of the Anti-fusionists, be safely accepted or allowed. It lacks evidence of party loyalty in the first place, they say; it lacks good faith in the second place; and in the third place it is wanting in truth. They are not waiting. On the contrary they are actively at work forming local alliances preparatory to the con-

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gressional campaign in 1898 and the presidential contest in 1900. In every part of the country where they are comparatively strong, as in Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas, they are in hearty accord with the fusion Democrats. In Iowa, at the late election, the regular State convention of the People's party refused to put out a ticket of its own, and personally the fusion members united in support of the Democratic nominees from Governor down. In Nebraska, where the Populists are largely in majority over Democrats, they united in support of a ticket headed by a Democrat. In Kansas, the patronage of the State administration (Populist) is divided among the parties to the triple alliance of 1896.

These things indicate the direction of political wind currents. They are signs full of meaning, and none but the blind can fail to comprehend their significance. Mr. Bryan, on his part, has already contributed fifteen hundred dollars to the People's party campaign fund, and Senator Allen has invested the money in interest-bearing securities that it may increase unto the day of its use in "promoting the cause of bimetallism."

On the other hand, the Anti-fusionists wish to maintain their party relations, and they do not see how they can do that by supporting some other party, more especially one whose principles do not accord with their own; and the division growing out of this difference is fatal. It is drawn on the dead line. These Anti-fusionists are like Cubans in this respect. They demand the independence of their party; they do not desire to be merely an attachment to another body, and particularly one from which they have once separated on account of unsatisfactory relations. They are affirmatively against fusion or alliance or federation of any sort with either the Republican or the Democratic party in any national election. They are Populists because they believe in the principles of the People's party, and they intend and expect to remain such, at any rate until a greater and better party is formed out of other existing political bodies that are aiming at higher ideals in government.

Nor can it be said that the Anti-fusionists have been wanting in attentions to their fusion brethren, for they have warned them from time to time of attempts of their national committee to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over them. They have repeatedly asked for a conference of the disagreeing factions, with the view of a friendly adjustment of their differences, but

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no attention is paid to these requests. And that their number and temper might not be under-estimated or their motives and wishes misunderstood, they called a conference themselves, held at Nashville, Tenn., July 4, 1897, and on that occasion it was unanimously resolved by them to have no further union or alliance with other parties, and a committee was appointed to reorganize the Anti-fusion Populists of the country.

Several independent suggestions have been submitted by individual Anti-fusionists on their own responsibility, proposing plans to bring the members of the party together on new lines. One of these is to call a conference of delegates representing all political bodies that are opposed to the present gold-standard regime to consider whether it be not practicable, out of many, to form one great party with a single creed embodying everything regarded as essential by each of the parties represented. Such a conference, it is urged, would bring together the strongest and best men among the members of all parties. If, upon full and free conference, such a body should agree upon a common declaration of principles and a new name for the new body, the trouble which is now so threatening among Populists would be disposed of. Such a movement, if successful, would bring into being the most splendid body of men ever organized for any purpose, and they could gain possession of the government by the use of a freeman's safeguard—the ballot. This proposition, however, wise and patriotic as it is, brings no response from the other side.

Two things may be taken as facts: First; That as long as Mr. Bryan is in the field as the Democratic candidate for the presidency, Fusion Populists will co-operate with the Democracy. Second; That the Anti-fusion, or Middle-of-the-road, Populists will not again ally themselves either individually or as a body with the Democratic party, no matter who is its candidate.

These facts show *why* the People's party is passing. It now remains to consider *where* it is going.

It will not go to the Republicans, because its leading doctrines are diametrically opposed to the principles and policies of the present Republican party. Everything of importance favored by Populists is opposed by Republicans and everything cardinal in the Republican creed is opposed by Populists; hence the latter are not headed for the Republican camp. This is enough on that part of the subject.

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If the People's party be merged, it will be in a new body that shall include advanced Democrats, like Altgeld and Bryan, Silver Republicans, and men of reform views in every other body that has been organized to promote political reforms. And that would be a wise and altogether practicable ending of these disastrous party antagonisms. But old party names would have to be dropped and a new name and creed adopted for the new party. If they could agree on doctrines, surely they would not fail to agree on a name by which they should wish to be known. This course would bring into one army all the forces that are now marching in the same direction—voters who ought to be together and who must be together before final victory is achieved over class rule. United in one party under a new name, with one creed and one leader, every member would feel the warmth of new friendships and be encouraged by the stimulus of a large companionship; for, together they would be able soon to re-establish popular government in the United States and the people would be in power again.

Such a party could be easily formed if Democrats were not opposed to it. And they would not be opposed if the Populists, united, should declare against fusion and merging and all sorts of co-operation with any existing party. And that is just what they ought to do. Let Populists but rise to the level of the occasion, shake off the hypnotic stupor of Democracy and assert themselves as party men, announcing the end of all unions and alliances with other parties, except such as shall relate to the formation of one great new party made up of voters opposed to the present Republican regime, and Democratic leaders, seeing that alone they are lost, would take counsel of their fears and hasten to the newer and securer fold. It is the readiness of Fusion Populists to train with their Democratic brethren that encourages them and turns their heads upward. If Mr. Bryan could not win for his party when he had virtually the united Populist support, how can he succeed with half that vote? The candidate of the Democratic party in 1900 will not get the vote of the Anti-fusion Populists, and without this support the chances for that party's success will be greatly lessened. But a union of all reformers in one body would be invincible.

It is no answer to these suggestions to question the loyalty or patriotism of the Anti-fusionists, for they will retort by saying

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that if Democrats are in sympathy with Populism, their disinterestedness would be more apparent if they would come over and help the People's party, seeing that it had occupied and appropriated this reform ground long before it was discovered by the followers of Mr. Bryan.

Unless some new alignment of voters is effected soon, the People's party will permanently separate into two parts. One faction will go backward to the Democrats, and it will not have to go far, as the distance between the rear of the People's party and the vanguard of Democracy is so short that they readily mingle in the same camp and one countersign answers for both. The other faction will go forward to still higher ground. These men have nothing in common with Democracy except their views on the income tax and silver coinage, and these, even if they be taken as leading issues, are Populist doctrines, announced long before they appeared in the Chicago platform.

If it be inquired why they are opposed to Democracy, let the record answer. They believe the people of the United States constitute a nation; they believe the government is an agency created by the people for their use and benefit, and hence that all great national instrumentalities and franchises ought to be owned and operated by the government. This principle they hold to be vital. The Democratic party is and always has been opposed to this theory. It has uniformly opposed internal improvement by the general government except for military or naval purposes. That party believes in metallic money as the only real money; it is a "hard money" party, and it favors State bank notes for currency.

And while from the Populist doctrine on silver coinage, "sixteen to one" was made the Bryan battle-cry in 1896, there is no evidence that his party had then or has since changed front on the theory of Senate bill No. 2,642, introduced by Senator Jones, of Arkansas, on the 23d day of January, 1895, of which the ninth section is as follows:

"From and after the passage of this act the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to receive at any United States mint, from any citizen of the United States, silver bullion of standard fineness, and coin the same into silver dollars of four hundred and twelve and one-half grains each. The seignorage on the said bullion shall belong to the United States, and shall be the difference between the coinage value thereof and the price of the bullion in London on the day the deposit is made," etc.

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The Democrats are now everywhere trying to get together on the silver question, and they can readily effect a union by agreeing to a law which shall have this section nine as one of its provisions. It is proverbially a party of compromise. A party with Bryan and Croker working harmoniously together in it need not struggle hard or long over so trifling a matter as the ratio between silver and gold. There is nothing in any of the public utterances of Mr. Bryan to indicate that, after securing the Populist vote, he would not consent to any ratio that would save to his party its conservative silver element.

Our coin debts were all contracted when the coin of the country consisted of silver and gold at the sixteen-to-one ratio, and every United States bond now out expressly declares on its face that it is "redeemable, principal and interest, in coin of the standard value of July 14, 1870," and the ratio was sixteen-to-one at that time. Besides, the greenbacks and Treasury notes are all redeemable in that kind of coin, and for these reasons Populists are not willing to change the ratio.

Nor can they agree with the Democrats on the subject of government paper money. The Chicago platform says:

> "We demand that all paper which is made legal tender for public and private debts, or which is receivable for duties to the United States, shall be issued by the government of the United States and shall be redeemable in coin."

That is to say, not that we demand or favor that kind of paper; but that, if any of it is issued, it "shall be redeemable in coin." The truth is, the Democratic party is now, as it has always been, opposed to government legal tender paper money. Otherwise, it would not demand redemption in coin.

The Populist platform puts it this way: "We demand a national currency, safe, sound, and flexible, issued by the general government only, a full legal tender for all debts"—a demand quite different from that of the Democrats.

As a further matter of difference, attention is called to the fact that there is no evidence tending to show that the Democratic party has changed its position on the subject of retiring government paper money. Section one of Senator Jones's bill, above cited, provides as follows:

> "That authority is hereby given to the Secretary of the Treasury to issue bonds of the United States to the amount of five hundred million dol

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lars, coupon or registered, at the option of the buyer, payable, principal and interest, in coin of the present standard value, and bearing interest at the rate of three per cent. per annum, payable quarterly, and not to be sold at less than par, the bonds to mature thirty years from date, and be redeemable at the option of the government after twenty years; and that the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby authorized to use the proceeds of the sale of said bonds to defray current expenses of the government, and for the redemption of United States legal-tender notes and of Treasury notes issued under the Act of July fourteenth, eighteen hundred and ninety, as hereinafter provided."

Seven sections following this section provide details, including authority to national banks to enlarge their circulation to the full limit of their bonds deposited. No Populist could endorse a measure like that, yet when the bill was reported favorably to the Senate by Mr. Jones every Democrat in Congress at the time, with the possible exception of a few monometallists, stood ready to support it.

There are still other matters of difference. Populists regard the land question as of supreme importance. The people's homes are slipping away from them. We are fast becoming a nation of renters. We have a million or more unemployed men and women all the time, some of whom, at least, could earn a living on the public lands if they could only get to them with means to start. Populists think the national and State governments ought to take hold of the labor problem and get the people at work again. Strikes and lock-outs, and consequent disturbances in trade, can be prevented by keeping people employed at fair remuneration. There is nothing in the Democratic platform or in that party's history which is in any way responsive to these advances of Populism. So, too, Populists believe that the present capitalization of our great railway system is a standing menace to the commercial peace of the country, and that final government ownership and management is the only safe and certain cure for the accumulating embarrassments attending present methods of handling the business of these powerful corporations. Democracy is opposed to such a policy. And if there is anything on which the Populist heart is chiefly set, it is the right of the people to propose legislation and to pass on important measures before they take effect as laws. But this doctrine has not found favor in any body of orthodox Democrats.

Finally, as to all matters which Populists regard as fundamental and of surpassing importance, the two parties are not only

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not in accord, but are positively opposed to each other. The People's party was formed for present duties, while that of the Democracy came from divisions among the founders of the Republic. The doctrines of this young party are, in brief, the equal rights of men; its creed is the golden rule; its idea of law is justice, and its theory of government is the rule of the people.

If the scheme to organize a new body is left untried, or, if tried, it is found to be impracticable and the People's party is finally separated into two wings, the Fusionists will have no difficulty in finding a resting place; but the work for which the party was born and which it bravely commenced will be left for their old associates and new co-workers who shall be found in other bodies—men and women who believe good government can be maintained only through social order and just laws, citizens who believe in doing good because they love their fellow-men, reformers whose faces have always been to the front, veterans who draw the enemy's fire and who fight better in the field than in the camp.

There will be plenty of work for them to do. Conditions will not improve under the present regime. Times will get no better. Stringency and panic will be here on time again and again as of old, for neither Republicans nor Democrats offer a preventive. They do not seem to know what ails the country and the world. High tariff is but heavy taxation, and free silver alone will not give work to the idle nor bread to the poor. The case needs heroic treatment—just such as the People's party proposed.

Yes, the work will be delayed, but it will be done. Justice will be re-established in the land and the people's rights will be restored to them. The law of progress will not be suspended any more than the law of gravitation. While the factors are being arranged in equations of the next century, and during the siftings and winnowings of the time, these devoted Populists will gravitate to their proper places among the leaders of thought and action in the work of the trying days to come. To them, and to such as they, will be given truths of the future to reveal to others as they can bear them, and they shall have at least the reward of the faithful.

W. A. PEFFER.

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THE SPEAKER AND THE COMMITTEES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

BY GEN. A. W. GREELY, U. S. A.

A REVIEW of the history of the first century of the United States shows that this republic has been most fortunate in the selection of the official chiefs of its co-ordinate branches of government—the executive, judicial, and legislative. Rarely has it occurred that a man filling any of these exalted offices has fallen short of the high standard that America demands, and of a few it may be even said that the man has been, if anything, greater than his office. Notwithstanding the detraction of enemies and adulation of friends, it is evident that no inconsiderable number of thinking men consider Thomas B. Reed, the present Speaker of the House of Representatives, as one who overshadows the office; whether rightly or wrongly, it is for future generations to decide.

The power of the Speaker of the House of Representatives has steadily increased from the first Congress to the present, and in its influence on national legislation is believed by many even to exceed that exerted by the President. Samuel J. Randall, through whom the influence of the Speaker was increased more largely than by any other man in this country, once said: "I came to consider that (the Speakership) . . . was the highest office within the reach of American citizens; that it was a grand official station, great in the honors which it conferred and still greater in the ability it gave to impress on our history and legislation the stamp of truth, fairness, justice, and right."

In view of the recent political struggle in the House of Representatives over the dominating factor of national legislation—the appointment of committees—it seems of timely interest to

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trace the growth of the Speakership from an office scarcely above that of moderator to its present autocratic position as a representative exponent of the policy of the dominant party.

It is interesting to note that if the House of Representatives at its first session in 1789 did not clothe the Speaker with autocratic powers, yet it invested the office with an external dignity of a somewhat Turveydrop character. The House, indeed, saved the dignity of the country by disagreeing to the proposition of the Senate to address the President as "His Highness . . . the Protector of their Liberties," but when it came to its presiding officer, the earliest rules ordered that "when the House adjourns, the members shall keep their seats until the Speaker go forth; and then the members shall follow," a procedure that was in force for nearly six years, until November 13, 1794.

The House, however, kept its legislative powers in the hands of its members. Business was often done on the motion of a member. The Speaker appointed only the minor committees, while the important committees were elected by ballot, a fact that is generally unknown. Committeeships were limited both in power and in tenure of office, service being as a rule for a few days only, and never beyond one session.

The first rules for the House of Representatives, April 7, 1789, were reported by Elias Boudinot on behalf of his fellow-committeemen, Nicholas Gilman, Benjamin Goodhue, Thomas Hartley, Richard Bland Lee, James Madison, Roger Sherman, William Smith, Thomas T. Tucker, and Jeremiah Wadsworth.

Among the most important rules were those setting forth the Speaker's relation to the committees, as follows:

"The Speaker shall appoint committees unless it be determined by the House that the committee shall consist of more than three members, in which case the appointment shall be by ballot of the House."

"Committees consisting of more than three members shall be balloted for by the House; if upon such ballot the number required shall not be elected by a majority of the votes given, the House shall proceed to a second ballot, in which a plurality of votes shall prevail; and in case a greater number than are required to compose or complete the committee shall have an equal number of votes, the House shall proceed to a further ballot or ballots."

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It is to be noticed that all the important committees were named by the House, which in its first session elected nine committees by ballot. While the rules were silent on the subject, yet the tenure was brief, the committee on elections only serving through the session. The policy of the House in 1789 was indicated by the discharge of the Committee on Ways and Means, after less than two months' service, and by the entrusting of all matters to special committees whose tenure expired with brief reports speedily rendered. Even the fourth Congress in 1795 had but two standing committees, and the number in 1805 and in 1815 were but seven and twelve respectively. The fifty-fourth Congress in 1896, on the other hand, had, including three joint committees, no less than fifty-seven standing committees.

The chief officials of the two Houses of Congress evidently viewed with disfavor their restricted powers, and efforts were speedily made to enlarge their scope. Both attempts were along the same lines, to empower the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate to appoint all committees. The Senate, October 31, 1791, on a motion to alter the Senate rule, which provided for the election of committes by ballot, so that the Vice-President should be empowered to nominate committees in future, declined to surrender its powers and to this day elects its committees.

In the House the Speaker was more successful. The last committee elected by ballot, if indeed it was elected, was that of January 11, 1790, which was constituted to bring in a bill for the enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States. Under the standing rules of the House, this committee, consisting of one member from each State, should have been elected by ballot. The Annals of Congress, compiled nearly thirty years later, state that this course was pursued, but the official journal of the House states that the committee was appointed. However this may be, the House immediately thereafter reversed its original action and initiated a policy of strengthening the powers of the Speakership, which has been followed to the present day.

The House Journal of January 13, 1790, contains the following record: "On motion, Ordered, That so much of the standing rules and orders of this House as directs the modes of appointing committees be rescinded; and that hereafter it be a standing rule of the House, that all committees shall be

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appointed by the Speaker, unless otherwise especially directed by the House, in which case they shall be appointed by ballot; and if upon such ballot the number required shall not be elected by a majority of the votes given, the House shall proceed to a second ballot, in which a plurality of votes shall prevail; and in case a greater number than are required to compose or complete the committee shall have an equal number of votes, the House shall proceed to a further ballot or ballots."

The House Journal and the Annals of Congress are silent as to reasons advanced by Richard Bland Lee, who assisted in formulating the original rules, in moving this change and also as to the vote on the subject. It was undeniably a thin House as no less than fourteen out of its sixty-one members had not qualified. It would hardly seem that the change was dictated by the difficulty of elections, for the House consisted of only sixty-one members and the occasions for elections were infrequent. It may be added that this was the only rule changed by the House during that Congress.

The importance of the committees was obvious at the opening of the second Congress, when immediately after the qualification of the Speaker, Clerk, and members, the House "Ordered, That the Speaker shall appoint committees until the House shall otherwise determine."

The next change of rules, November 13, 1794, affected the chairman of the Committee of the Whole, who under rules of April 7, 1789, "was to be appointed." The new rule put the intention of the House beyond doubt by a proviso that the chairman "shall be appointed by the Speaker."

The increased power of the Speaker proved displeasing to many members, especially those in the political minority, but no open attack was made upon the Speaker's absolute control of committees until the second session of the eighth Congress, when Nathaniel Macon, of North Carolina, was Speaker. It may be added that the persistent and determined attack then made affords the only instance in the history of the House where the power of the Speaker has been even ostensibly diminished. I say ostensibly diminished, for the limitation then placed on the Speaker and the power then granted to committees of electing a member to a vacant chairmanship has never again been exercised.

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On November 6, 1804, the House excused Mr. J. C. Smith, chairman of the Committee on Claims, from serving thereon, and S. W. Dana, being appointed on the committee in Smith's place, was regarded by a majority of the committee as being its chairman, thus excluding from promotion Mr. Holmes, who was the second person on the original list. Thereupon a new standing rule was submitted as follows:

"That each of the committees of this House be empowered to appoint a chairman by plurality of votes in all cases where the first-named member of the committee shall be absent, or excused by the House."

The committee to whom this motion was referred reported in favor of the motion except that the election should be by a *majority* of the committee. The House after debate refused to agree to the resolution by a vote of fifty yeas and sixty-nine nays. Immediately a motion was made that all committees should choose their own chairman, but this with another similar motion failed. But the question would not down, and finally the following standing rule was adopted, November 23, 1804:

"That the first-named member of any committee appointed by the Speaker of the House shall be the chairman, and, in case of his absence, or being excused by the House, the next named member, and so on, as often as the case shall happen, unless the committee shall, by a majority of their number, elect a chairman."

It does not appear that any chairman has been so elected save in the original case, where the committee was carrying out the wishes of the Speaker.

One contingency, however, that of death, was not taken into consideration, but in providing for it in the amendment of the rules, 1888, the power of the Speaker was again enhanced by adding the following addition to the rule:

"And in the case of the death of a chairman, it shall be the duty of the Speaker to appoint another."

On April 21, 1806, Mr. James Sloan, after a bitter attack on John Randolph, moved, "for the purpose hereafter of keeping the business of the House of Representatives within its own power," that all standing committees shall be appointed by ballot and choose their own chairman. This motion was tabled, and being renewed by Mr. Sloan in the next session was defeated by

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the very close vote of forty-two "ayes" to forty-four "noes." The question was revived at the beginning of the next Congress, October 28, 1807, by Thomas Blount, but without success. The attempt was renewed in the following Congress by Matthew Lyons, who moved May 23, 1809, that the standing committees be appointed by ballot for the reason that the "course proposed would be more respectful to the nation; and that the person so appointed would feel a greater responsibility to the House." Mr. Gardiner supported the motion as "consistent with the republican mode of proceeding and thinking proper for this country, . . . where the many were as competent as the few or as the one." The motion was defeated by sixty-seven "nays" to forty-one "yeas."

For forty years, until the election of a Speaker by a plurality vote in 1849, there were no further efforts to effect a radical reform in the selection of the standing committees, the intervening attempts being confined to single or to special committees.

However, not infrequent charges of partisanship were made against the Committee of Elections, and in 1813 the effort to set aside as illegal the election of Mr. Hungerford, of Virginia, on a report of the Committee of Elections to that effect, caused much debate. Finally the committee's report was rejected and Hungerford was confirmed in his seat. Rufus King, of Massachusetts, who voted against the report of the committee, moved June 14, 1813, that "the Committee of Elections shall in future be designated by lot, etc."; but the motion was defeated. Similar and unsuccessful attempts were made to change the method of electing this committee in 1838 and 1839.

As regards special committees, Mr. Pitkin's efforts failed, April 4, 1810, to have the committee to inquire into the conduct of General Wilkinson appointed by ballot, the vote being fifty-three "ayes" to sixty-four "noes."

In one case only has the Speaker barely escaped from the election of a special committee by the ballots of the members of the House, March 13, 1832, in connection with the appointment of a special committee on the Bank of the United States, Mr. Stevenson being Speaker. The House, after a long debate, voted by 101 "yeas" to 99 "nays" on a motion by Erastus Root that the committee shall be appointed by ballot. Before the result was announced Mr. Plummer, of Mississippi, who had voted "yea,

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changed his vote, thus making a tie, whereupon the Speaker gave the casting vote in the negative.

In the prolonged contest over the election of the Speaker in 1849, when for the first time in the history of the House he was elected by a plurality vote contrary to the standing rules, the general question of the appointment of the committees by the Speaker was again raised. This was natural, as the complexion of the committees was a political factor of primary importance. Mr. Sackett, of New York, then moved "that the committees of this House be appointed by the House under a *viva voce* vote of the members thereof, and that it shall require a majority of those voting to elect." The Speaker ruled the resolution out of order.

In recent years Mr. Gillette's proposition in 1880, to restrict the power of the Speaker to appoint until especially authorized by the House, was unsuccessful. Mr. Orth's motion of January 11, 1882, to change the methods of appointing committees, was referred to the Committee on Rules, of which the Speaker was chairman. Mr. Orth claimed that in the present method "the responsibility was too great for any single individual, and that a one-man power is always dangerous and in conflict with republican principles of government." Several similar but unsuccessful efforts were made later, which need not be dwelt upon.

It may be added that with the increasing power of the Speaker the powers of the committees have been likewise augmented.

A brief statement indicating wherein lies the power of the Speaker and the committees may not be inappropriate. There is no rule requiring committees to report to the House any bills except general appropriations. Seven committees only have the right to report at any time, and then only on matters especially designated. One committee only, that on Rules, of which the Speaker is chairman, has a right to have its report considered at any time; to this committee must go all proposed action touching order of business. No proposition, except by unanimous consent, can be considered unless reported by committee. No member can address the House without being recognized by the Speaker, who decides which of several members rising together shall speak first. The Speaker, without laying them before the House, refers bills, executive reports, etc., to committees, and reports of committees to appropriate calendars, and on such references often depends the fate of a measure.

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Until 1861 committeeships expired with each session, but now as regards standing committees the terms are coexistent with the organized life of each Congress. Speaker Colfax, when the power of the House was questioned, decided that "the House of Representatives has the power to instruct any committee which it is authorized to appoint. It is a judicial check upon the power of the Speaker in appointing committees." Such instructions are extremely rare, and the power of each committee over legislation in its particular branch is almost unlimited. It was frequently possible in the early Congresses for individuals to secure at times legislation that had not passed the scrutiny of a committee, but such legislative action is now almost unknown.

Inasmuch as the present system of appointments and the scope of power of committees have been the gradual and uninterrupted growth of a century's experience on the part of the House, it is not probable that any radical changes will be made therein in the near future. Such changes, if made at all, would naturally occur under conditions similar to those which caused the election of coalition Speakers in 1795 and 1839, or of plurality Speakers in 1849 and 1855. Any change would doubtless result in the adoption of strictly American methods, such as those in vogue in the Senate, where committees have always been elected. THE NORTH AMEMICAN REVIEW for August described the French, German, and Italian methods, where committees are elected by ballot through the medium of sections into which their legislative bodies are divided, but Congress would scarcely import these foreign methods.

Great as are the powers of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and potent for good or evil as are the committees appointed by him, it is pessimistic to attribute to either or to both a measure of power detrimental to the future weal of the nation. In continual contact with the people, and observant of the glaring publicity that causes frequent reversals of public opinion, it is safe to say that future Congresses, if they should initiate legislation of an objectionable character, would ultimately enact such laws as will harmonize with the intelligent wishes of the people, and tend to the highest development of the Republic.

A. W. GREELY.

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AMERICA'S OPPORTUNITY IN ASIA.

BY CHARLES DENBY, JR., SECRETARY OF THE UNITED STATES LEGATION IN CHINA.

It was the opinion of Mr. Lowell that the Pacific Coast of the United States would remain the back door of the Republic while her face would always be turned toward the Atlantic. This was the opinion which Mr. Bryce also came to after his latest visit to the United States. Great as these authorities are, the writer, familiar with the East, its industries, its peoples, and its resources, positively refuses to accept their opinion. The world has moved too fast for their prophecy. The Pacific of the date when Mr. Lowell spoke is not the Pacific of to-day; the America of which Mr. Bryce wrote so well and pleasantly has changed with changes of her own and must change further because the East has changed.

It is a familiar statement that Asia is the greatest hive of human beings in the world, the greatest storehouse of treasures, the greatest unexploited field, the last prize to conquer for the commerce of the West. For many centuries it was the end of the navigator's voyage, whence he returned again to the port from which he sailed. Beyond rolled the Pacific, a vast, forbidding barrier, which, five thousand miles further on, beat against the rocks of North America, the "back door" of a new continent, whose people had their faces turned the other way. Now this new continent is conquered. The Anglo-American stands on the shores of the Pacific. He cannot face back to Europe across three thousand miles of continent. The great barrier has become a highway.

Let us not be misled by historic parallels. Asia is more accessible to-day than Europe thirty years ago. In 1885 there was but one line of steamers from America to Japan, now there are

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six, crowded with passengers and weighted down with freight. Twelve years ago the writer made the voyage from San Francisco to Yokohama in twenty-two days; this year he has crossed the same ocean in less than twelve. "The East" is no longer the East for Americans. If these new aspirants for oriental trade awake to their opportunities they may still make their triumphant motto "Westward Ho!"

A few years ago the exporters of the United States took little interest in China or Japan. From there we imported teas and silks and other fabrics, which found their way to us under foreign flags and by the way of foreign ports. But our exports were insignificant. Not only were American manufacturers occupied at home and satisfied with a market which a high tariff secured to them free from competition, and which they could scarcely supply, but the East itself continued on its monotonous way, disappointing all hope of progress, the same from year to year. Now two changes have taken place. The productiveness of American industry has outstripped the demand of the American market, and the manufacturer begins to look abroad. American locomotives whistle on the plains of Russia and of Argentina. American typewriters click in the offices of Europe. American rails are laid in the mountain passes of India. American cotton goods are the standard of the world. For the manufacturer of the United States the export trade has become a necessity, and it should be fostered with a jealous care.

The other change that has taken place is a change in China and Japan. The war of 1894–95 between these two powers was the most momentous event in the history of the East. It did more to startle, more to develop, China than any experience in her past. No victory of a European power could have had such an effect upon her. It required the triumph of an insignificant and detested rival to bring to the knowledge of Chinese statesmen the mortal weakness of their conservatism. This war has done more to open this vast field to Western commerce and civilization than five hundred years of foreign trade and one hundred years of missionary teaching. The effect has been instantly felt. The country seems to have sprung into life. Railroad lines are under construction, the beginnings of vast contemplated systems. Mines are being opened, new ports established, new lines of commerce developed. Schools for the teaching of English and

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of Western sciences are being founded and attended by an earnest crowd of intelligent young men who, a few years ago, would have blushed to count a foreigner among their friends. China looks to the West to learn the sources of a strength which she has long affected to despise.

This attention is reciprocated, but in a different spirit. The eyes of Europe are turned toward China and the European powers are arranging far-reaching plans dictated by territorial ambition. Their journals already openly discuss the respective spheres of influence which they hope some day to make exclusively tributary to their commerce. France is annexing territory on her Tonquin frontier, and is building railroads into Yunnan. Russia has laid her hand on Manchuria, and six hundred miles of Russian railroad in Chinese territory will shortly connect the trans-Siberian system with the port of Vladivostock on the Pacific. Germany is obtaining "concessions" from China—small areas of ground at the treaty ports, which will be placed under the German flag and where, under their own laws, German merchants may establish houses and conduct their business. Japan, baffled in the North, has annexed Formosa and founded there a lasting basis for her commerce. Nor has she stopped here, but she is daily adding to her military and naval strength, preparing to take her part in the coming struggle for supremacy on the mainland. England has opened new territories for her commerce by asserting the right of British merchants to navigate the West River, the key to the southwest of China. British trade was never so flourishing in China as to-day and the supremacy of England's naval power in Asiastic waters bears testimony to her intention to defend it.

All these powers recognize the fact that trade follows the flag. Where their ships go and where they make their national influence felt, there trade springs up to meet them. They recognize that the present is a critical period in the history of China; that when the breaking up and the inevitable partition come, those who have established themselves will obtain recognition of their interests, those who have failed to do so must see their trade go to the masters of the soil.

The government of the United States is strangely apathetic to these changes in the East, though it needs but little knowledge to assert that our interests there are of the first importance. The present crisis cannot be accurately judged from any

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notions of the past, though the past affords some analogy to what is taking place to-day. As the Mediterranean was once the centre of the ambitions of Europe, and as it ceded its importance to the wider fields of the Atlantic, so in the future must the Atlantic cede its importance to a wider field. There is a greater commerce growing up to our West, and its possession must be contested upon a greater stage. The statesmen of Europe reason that great size in nations is now becoming a matter of the first importance, and great size is possible only to those who have broad continents to grow in or widespread colonies. The relations of the great powers are changing, and the Pacific is becoming the centre of their striving. The powers that adjoin this ocean are destined to be the actors in the next drama of the world and the Pacific the stage thereof. England is the greatest of these powers. This she owes to Canada and to her possessions in the East. Russia is destined to a future greater than England's present. France is making desperate efforts to build up for herself an Asiatic foothold in this company. China's vast population and wide territory make her another factor in the problem. She may be conquered and enslaved for years, but the great vitality, the great individuality, the exclusive cohesiveness of her people, seem to destine her to an ultimately independent national existence. She must eventually emerge from her position of subjection and inferiority and become one of the great nations of the earth. Japan's *rôle* will be a smaller one, but the inherent identity of her interests with China's must make them allies against Europe in working out their common destiny. In the hands of these powers lies the future of the Pacific, and the future of the Pacific is the future of the world.

Our country cannot shut its eyes to this condition. The people of America, with a rapidly increasing population producing more than they can consume, with an aggressive character that brooks no opposition, with a coast line greater than that of any power of Europe, dotted with flourishing cities, constitute a factor in the future of the Orient that no apathy, no neglect, can belittle. Whatever policy we may have inherited as to entanglements with European powers must be discarded here. The people of the United States must not be content to see their neighbors to the West, with their boundless potentialities of trade, handed over, an uncontested prize, to the ambitions of

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Europe. America may attempt to evade the responsibility thrust upon her. She may, with shortsighted resolution, turn her face away from her great future, but she will not succeed. The markets of the Orient are the heritage of her merchants, and the time will inevitably come when the voice of the Republic will be heard in oriental courts with the same accent of authority as in the commonwealths of South America. It would be well if the certainty of this destiny could he recognized before European statesmanship has barred the way with "vested interests."

Leaving aside, however, these future complications, which no present thought can evade, we find that the actual commercial interests of the United States in Asia are worthy of the most careful consideration. Though its trade is in its infancy, China to-day is a great market, unable to supply itself with the very manufactured goods we have to sell. To this market we are the nearest neighbors. Some of the energy and intelligence which our manufacturers are devoting to South America would find ample compensation here. In Western America, when railroads were built they took the population with them and built up the business on which they hoped to thrive. In China the population, the business, the prosperity are there waiting for the railroads to come to them. The commercial activity which good communications will create is inconceivable. If to the Empire of China, with its vast population, its vast territory, its limitless resources, the electric spark of American enterprise could be communicated, the trade that would spring into existence would surpass all the records of history. Already on the short lines in the north we have some indication of the future. The cars are crowded with passengers and freight, trade is springing up, and Chinese merchants, with ready intelligence, are planning the extension of their business. New industries are coming into existence. Certain cities are pointed out as railroad centres, and real estate is advancing in price as in the "boom" cities of America. The station of Fengtai, eight miles southwest of Peking, now a rude building in a field of cabbages, is confidently expected by railroad experts to become the busiest railroad station in the world. There is no doubt that the general import and export trade of China will enormously increase. Internal taxation barriers will be broken down, and not only will new markets of great importance be reached, but old ones will become more accessible. The peo-

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ple will become more familiar with foreign products and inventions and will use them more freely. Increased opportunities of employment will give the lower classes more money to spend and there will be a greater demand for foreign oil, cloth, machinery, and the thousand things of foreign origin which the Chinese are only beginning to appreciate. It is a market which the writer candidly believes to be, for the American manufacturer, the most important in the world.

The present trade of the United States with China is difficult to accurately estimate. The Chinese returns of trade indicate as going to or coming from the United States such goods only as are carried directly between an American and a Chinese port. If Chinese goods are reshipped at an English port their further progress is not traced, but they appear as having been exported to England only. Similarly, American goods appear as imports from Great Britain and her colonies. In the year 1896 the foreign trade of China was 333,600,000 Haikuan taels,* of which imports were 202,589,994 taels, and the exports 131,081,421 taels. Of these totals, 201,263,026 taels was trade with Great Britain and Hongkong, and 23,053,452 taels trade with the United States. As above stated, however, these figures represent only the *direct* trade from American ports to Chinese ports and conversely, and are far from giving an accurate account of the export of American goods to China and of Chinese goods to the United States. A large part of American cotton goods, oil, flour, machinery, iron, lumber, etc., etc., in all of which there is considerable trade, appears credited in the Chinese returns to England and Hongkong. The totals should probably be nearer 40,000,000 than 23,000,000 taels.

The trade of Japan, though not of the same magnitude nor destined to the same development as that of China, is worthy of consideration. The total foreign trade of Japan for 1896 was about $145,000,000, United States currency, of which about $35,000,000 was trade with Great Britain and $25,000,000 with the United States. Japan's imports from the United States aggregated about $8,000,000, and consisted chiefly of kerosene, raw cotton, flour, locomotives, rails, cigarettes, watches, and timber. It is noticeable that 3,680,000 tons of shipping under the British

* The Haikuan tael was worth 81 cents United States currency at average value of sight bills of exchange on New York from Shanghai for the year 1896.

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flag entered and cleared in Japan during 1896, while the total tonnage of American shipping for the period was only 284,000 tons.

It is interesting to look for a moment at the trade of Vladivostock, the port of Siberia, and a market of the greatest promise. In 1885 only eighty-six ships called at this port; in 1895 this number had increased to 191, and in 1896 to 270. The trade of Vladivostock and Nikolaevsk is chiefly import. It grew from 3,000,000 pud in 1892 to 11,358,891 pud in 1895. In this latter year the import at these two ports was valued at 22,418,524 silver roubles. Small as these figures are, the increase is striking, and there is no question that the opening of the Russian railroads in Manchuria and Siberia will give a great impetus to the trade of the Pacific. Already the Russians are talking of trans-Pacific lines, with the Eastern terminus at an American port, so as to form a new line of transportation around the world, which shall touch no British soil.

It has not been the purpose of this article merely to direct attention to the possibilities of the Orient and to arouse an interest in it, but chiefly to point out certain measures which would immediately benefit the exporters of the United States. The first and most important step should be the manifestation of a greater interest by the American government in the political and commercial affairs of the Orient. As to China in particular, the powers of Europe should be assured that whatever disposition they make of the land, the trade must be open to all; that no future tariffs, whether by conventions or as the result of annexation, shall be allowed to discriminate against the United States. The American merchant should be assured that his government is supporting him, and the Chinese government should be made to understand that the commercial interest of every American citizen is jealously watched at Washington. The official support which European merchants receive from their governments should be offset by an equally determined support of our merchants from our government.

Means of transportation between the ports of America and those of Asia should be put upon a better basis. Direct lines of cheap freight steamers under the American flag should be established from the Atlantic ports to Shanghai and Yokohama. Direct communication is the surest creator of trade. Private

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enterprise must grapple with this problem. Arrangements can easily be made through American agents in China by which vessels sailing regularly with cargo from Philadelphia, Baltimore, or New York can be assured of cargo on their homeward journey. The steamer lines between the Pacific coast and the Orient should receive such financial support as to be able to maintain frequent communication by American-built ships of the highest class. Canadian competition should be surpassed in all particulars. The profits on the carrying and insuring of American goods should be diverted to American companies. Our people should no longer endure the humiliating necessity of sending our merchandise, our mails, and our telegrams under the protection of a foreign, perhaps a hostile, flag.

American merchants and manufacturers should insist on American representation of their interests in China. A German or an English agent of an American firm will sell German or English goods first, then American if he can. The methods with which American manufacturers have hitherto been content in China are in marked contrast to the methods they have used to push their business in other quarters. Nothing is so badly needed as aggressive American business methods.

On the 23d of September last the writer called upon the great statesman of China, Li Hung Chang, in the privacy of his home in Peking. "Grand Secretary," I said, "I am going to America to try to interest the merchants of my country more in the trade with China. What do you think of the idea?" "Go," said the venerable statesman, "and count on my assistance. Your idea is an excellent one; the trade between China and the United States is an unmixed blessing to both."

American manufacturers have shown that they need fear no rivalry. Their goods are sold in open competition with the world. On the shores of the Pacific lies their brightest hope. Russia, now bending her energies to the opening of Siberia, is our constant friend. China and Japan have no reason to be aught but cordial to us. We have all the advantages of position, all the advantages of goodwill. It is only necessary to realize our situation and to act upon it.

CHARLES DENBY, JR.

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THE INTELLECTUAL POWERS OF WOMAN.

BY PROFESSOR FABIAN FRANKLIN.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for September contains a spirited discussion by Mrs. G. G. Buckler of several aspects of the woman question. Of these it is the object of the present paper to consider one only: that which Mrs. Buckler presents in the form of the inquiry, Has woman ever produced, or is she likely to produce, anything first-rate in the higher branches of literature, science, or art?

After a rapid survey of the field Mrs. Buckler answers the first half of this question with a decided negative; on the second half, in the only formal statement she makes concerning it, she holds to a position of judicial doubt. "Women have never yet attained," she says, "the highest rank in science, literature, or art. Whether they ever will do so is, of course, a mere matter of opinion, and here it is well carefully to discriminate facts from theories." And she proceeds to reject with something approaching contempt the *a priori* arguments which have been advanced to show that women are of necessity precluded from high intellectual achievements.

Did this passage represent the whole drift of the article, the present writer would have no quarrel with it. It is true that woman has never yet attained the highest rank in science, literature, or art. It is also true that the question whether she ever will or not is a mere matter of opinion—or rather of purely speculative conjecture. But the formal disclaimer thus made of any decision as to the possibilities of the future is not in agreement with the judgments expressed with emphasis at various points in the article. No reader can lay it down without the feeling that the author holds the facts of history to be conclusive as to the

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limitations of woman's intellectual powers. Thus, after speaking of women mathematicians, Mrs. Buckler says: "Yet, taken all in all, these few individual instances of female achievement in science serve only to prove the rule that women as discoverers are inferior to men." So far as literature is concerned she is even more explicit when she says: "Probably woman's kind in literature will always be found to be the humbler species, the lyric and especially the hymn, letter-writing and domestic novels." But what is more to the purpose is the general drift of the whole article, which is clearly and emphatically to the effect that, in literature at least, women have had ample opportunity to show their powers, and that the result of the test has been a demonstration of hopeless inferiority; and that a similar test, not quite so conclusive, yet practically sufficient, has established the same result in the other two great departments of intellectual activity.

That the facts of history are not only not conclusive, but cannot properly be regarded as establishing even a presumption concerning the limitations of the intellectual powers of woman, it is the object of the present paper to show. Strange as the assertion may at first blush appear, it is nevertheless true that the presumption that women are incapable of the highest intellectual achievement may far more reasonably be based upon mere ordinary impressions than upon anything which historical experience has thus far been able to furnish. If a man feels it in his bones that no woman could possibly write a poem as great as "Paradise Lost" or evolve a body of mathematical doctrine like that of the "*Disquisitiones Arithmeticæ*," his state of mind is the result of a vast array of experiences, for the most part absorbed unconsciously, but not the less valuable on that account. A conviction arrived at in this way it is difficult to dislodge or weaken. But when the position is taken, as it has been taken by so many previous writers, as well as by Mrs. Buckler, that women have historically demonstrated their incapacity for such triumphs by not yet having achieved them, it is not difficult to show that the argument is thoroughly unsound.

The first and most vital defect in all these discussions is their total neglect of the question of numbers. "No woman has attained the *highest* rank in science, literature, or art"—granted. But in all the ages of the world there have been but a handful of

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men who have attained this rank; and only an utterly insignificant fraction of the female sex can be regarded as having been in any sense in the running for these high honors. Among the writers who hold Mrs. Buckler's view, one never finds the slightest attempt to take into account the relation of these numbers. With all but an insignificant fraction of the sex ruled out, would not women have contributed more than their quota if they had furnished even *one* name to the list of immortals?

The force of this inquiry will become much more apparent if we turn aside for a moment from the woman question. Take our own great country, and ask whether any American has attained the *highest* rank in science, literature, or art. We have had no Newton, no Darwin, no Gauss; there has not only been no American Shakespeare or Dante, but no American Goethe or Burns; and neither Beethoven nor Michel Angelo has even a distant relative on the roll of American glory. Does it enter any one's mind to infer, hence, that Americans are intrinsically incapable of the greatest triumphs in science, in literature, or in art? And yet the number of American men who have in the past hundred years been placed in circumstances conducive to the accomplishment of great work is incomparably larger than that of all the women who have ever been so placed.

Other examples will point the moral quite as strikingly. Take the history of German literature. Between the romances and songs of chivalry which were produced in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the revival of German literature in the eighteenth century, there lies a dreary interval of five hundred years during which Germany produced not a single literary figure of importance, to say nothing of "the highest rank." And all this time her universities were keeping up the love of learning; she had ancient capitals and historic courts; she went through the stimulating experience of the Protestant Reformation, and it was within her bounds and during this period that the art of printing was invented. Or, again, take Scotland. An Englishman writing in the year 1750 could far more justly have said of Scotchmen than any one can to-day say of women, that historical experience had proved that we could not expect from them writings capable of attracting the attention or influencing the thought of the world. Yet the next half-century found Scotland furnishing to philosophy the pre-eminent name of Hume,

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to political economy the illustrious Adam Smith, to poetry Burns, and to prose Walter Scott.

One is tempted here to introduce examples in which the course of history has been the reverse of this—cases where a period of glory has been followed by ages of utter insignificance. Of these, incomparably the most striking is that of Greece, or, let us say, of Athens. But the phenomenon presented by the magnificent flowering of Greek genius in a single century, followed by two millenia of obscurity, illustrates much more than this lesson of numbers, and may well serve to introduce the second great defect of the historical argument against the capabilities of women. For not only has almost the entire mass of womankind, in all historic ages up to the last two or three decades, been practically placed completely out of the running, but the extremely small minority from whom high achievement might possibly be expected have been wholly cut off from those influences which have, in the case of men, so great a share in the stimulation of ambition and the development of genius. Men who have had the spark of genius or even of talent in them have been spurred to effort by all their surroundings, by the traditions of the race, by rivalry with their comrades, by the admiration which the opposite sex accords to brilliant achievements, by the dread of disappointing the high expectations of relatives and friends, by the thousand nameless forces which impel and animate to exertion. What of all this has there been for women? How many have been so placed as to even think of an intellectual career as a possibility? Of these few, how many have been otherwise than solitary in their youthful aspirations and efforts? None has had the goad of the humiliation of failure to urge her on, for from none was anything great expected or looked for. And the very absorption in a high intellectual interest, which in the case of a boy would be hailed with delight even by the humblest parents as an earnest of future greatness, was, in the case of girls, up to the last two or three decades, universally condemned and repressed and thwarted even in the most cultivated families.

There is, of course, a very easy answer to all this. Genius, it will be said, rises superior to all obstacles, and will manifest itself in spite of all disadvantages. The widespread acceptance of this comfortable doctrine is an interesting example of the way in which opinions, which when examined are seen to be mutually

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contradictory, may jog along together in the same mind without inconvenience. The same persons who hold this view of the infinite resources of genius will accept without hesitation the current explanation of the brilliant periods in the intellectual history of the world, or of a particular nation. But if the greatness of English literature in the time of Elizabeth is to be explained by reference to the glories of her reign in arms and adventure and statesmanship; if it is not to be considered an accident that Italy's pre-eminence in art and literature was coincident with the period when her rival states were at their highest point of wealth and political importance and civic pride; if Augustus had something to do with the Augustan age, and we find it quite natural that Virgil and Horace wrote then, and not in the reign of Augustulus; if we find a line of succession like Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, or like Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and recognize in it something most impressive, indeed, but nothing abnormal or miraculous; if we see nothing strange in the failure of the Greek race to produce a single world-name in two thousand years, after having, within the compass of a century and a half, furnished a considerable fraction of all the names on the brief list of the world's greatest men—if all these things are so, what becomes of the notion that inborn genius will triumph over all adversity of circumstance? In one breath we recognize that intellectual glory can be looked for only when the spirit of the time and the conditions of the national life are favorable to it; shall we say, the next moment, that genius is sure to assert itself under all circumstances? Evidently the two positions are incompatible.

So much for the inconsistency of the notion that "genius will out" with the all but universally accepted view that great things are, as a rule, done only in times somehow favorable to greatness. That it is the first, and not the second, of these doctrines which is at fault may easily be shown almost to demonstration; one has only to run over any list of the world's intellectual heroes, and strike out those who belonged to some great period. Leave only the solitary giants who arose unheralded and alone, who wrote noble verse in an ignoble time or made immortal works of art for a down-trodden or mean-spirited people, or extended the bounds of human knowledge at a time when learning was held in contempt. Is it necessary actually to go through the task?

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Is it not plain at once that, if it were performed, the splendid roll of immortals would shrink almost to nothing? And yet, if this be so, it is clear that, far from being sure to triumph over all the obstacles of circumstance, native genius depends almost invariably for its fruitful development upon influences to which it, along with meaner endowments, is subjected. By this is not to be understood any approval of the evolutionary cant which at one time was so prevalent and which asserted that works of genius were a mere "product" of the environment. The environment cannot make a genius, and cannot "evolve" his work. On the other hand, however, genius is not endowed with omnipotence, but, as common sense would indicate, and as historic experience amply demonstrates, it may be powerfully helped or fatally hindered by the atmosphere which it finds itself compelled to breathe.

But the ordinary differences of atmosphere between one age and another, which we thus readily recognize to have an influence so powerful upon literature and art, are insignificant in comparison with the difference between the atmosphere which has surrounded women and the atmosphere which has surrounded men in all times. To suppose that absolute *exclusion* from the opportunities of culture is the only important factor that has to be taken into account would be to overlook in this question what all acknowledge as of predominant importance when we are considering the history of civilization at large. Most vital of all the adverse influences, except such absolute exclusion, has been the prevalent sentiment as to what is fitting and commendable, as well as the prevalent estimate of what is possible, to women. The effect of such influences has been well expressed by Colonel Higginson: "Systematically discourage any individual, from birth to death, and they learn, in nine cases out of ten, to acquiesce in their degradation, if not to claim it as a crown of glory. If the Abbé Choisy praised the Duchesse de Fontanges for being 'beautiful as an angel and silly as a goose,' it was natural that all the young ladies of the court should resolve to make up in folly what they wanted in charms."

Only those of us who are very young have any need of historical research to assure ourselves that up to an extremely recent date there was not one person in a hundred, of either sex, who did not look upon a really learned woman as a monstrosity. And

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yet it is instructive to take an occasional glance farther back and find, for instance, that when, in the sixteenth century, Francoise de Saintanges wished to establish girls' schools in France, she was hooted at in the streets and her father called together four doctors learned in the law to deeide whether she was not possessed by the devil to think of educating women (*"pour s'assurer qu'instruire des femmes n'était pas un oeuvre du démon"*); or that Fénelon held virgin delicacy to be almost as incompatible with learning as with vice; or that Dr. Gregory, in his book *A Legacy to His Daughters*, which seems to have been regarded as a standard work on female propriety at the end of the eighteenth century, utters such warnings as this: "Be cautious even in displaying your good sense; it will be thought you assume a superiority over the rest of the company. But, if you have any learning, keep it a profound secret, especially from the men, who generally look with a jealous and malignant eye on a woman of great parts and a cultivated understanding." Every one knows that the two women who in our century have won most distinction by their mathematical work had to acquire the elements of the science surreptitiously and in the face of unyielding parental opposition, though both belonged to families of culture and high social standing. No one fails to see that this was getting knowledge under difficulties; but few realize the more important lesson that it teaches. For who shall say how many girls may have had mathematical powers greater than Mrs. Somerville's or Madame Kovalewski's, without possessing those other qualities which braced these two to fly in the face of what they had been steadily taught from infancy to regard as right and becoming in a woman?

One might go on almost indefinitely, pointing out the vast differences between the motives and ideals of the two sexes. But these considerations will easily occur to every one. The youthful dreams and aspirations of a gifted boy cluster around high achievement and resounding fame, because all that he hears and reads tends to arouse in him such ambitions; from earliest childhood, a girl learns to look forward to quite other things as her ideal. Beginning with the fairy tale and going on through poetry and romance and the talk of real life, the only thing which is held up to her as praiseworthy is the tender ministering to the needs of those around her; and it is the conquest of men

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by beauty and charm which is presented to her imagination as the one triumph that a woman prizes. The very girls who are most capable of great work, those possessing an abounding vitality, high spirits, the pride of life, are sure to go in for the great prize of happiness, and they cannot unite the winning of that prize with intellectual work so long as intellectual work is regarded as unfeminine.

But it is not my purpose to make an exhaustive list of the hindrances to woman's intellectual achievements. I have wished merely to fasten attention upon them, and to show their bearing upon that matter of numbers, which, while it is the vital element of the whole question, is so strangely ignored by the supporters of the view maintained in the article under discussion. Let us quote one or two passages from it. "Taking literature as our first topic, we find women from the earliest days expressing their thoughts in verse and prose. Yet as real poets we can only mention the half mythical Sappho, and possibly, in our own day, Mrs. Browning and Christina Rossetti." "Women from the earliest days"; yes, but how many, and under what circumstances? "In physics and mathematics we find feminine enthusiasts at quite an early date. . . . Yet, taken all in all, these few individual instances of female achievement in science serve only to prove the rule that women as discoverers are inferior to men." In such a dictum the fact is entirely lost sight of that the whole number of women who acquired the elements of the infinitesimal calculus, in the two centuries from its creation by Newton and Leibnitz, to the opening of Vassar College in 1865, was probably less than the number of mathematical honor men the single University of Cambridge turns out in a single year. Yet of the ten thousand men or so whom the University of Cambridge has, within the past hundred years, stamped with her certificate of honor, after a course of training upon which that stronghold of English mathematics concentrates all her powers, only two, or at most three, have achieved high rank as discoverers in pure mathematics.

In drawing conclusions like those just cited, writers continually forget that great distinction is, *ex vi termini*, an extremely rare thing. The truth is, that they are impelled to their conclusion, not so much by the facts which they cite in support of it, as by a predisposition to believe it. Of this predisposition

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they may themselves be entirely unconscious; but that it exists is shown by their failure to draw like inferences from similar and indeed much stronger premises, where there is no foregone conclusion to point the way. Almost every word, for instance, that is said of the failure of women to achieve the very highest distinction in science, literature, and art, may be said with equal truth of Americans, and with vastly greater emphasis of the inhabitants of almost any of our great States, say Pennsylvania; yet no one thinks of inferring from this that Americans or Pennsylvanians are utterly barred by inherent defect from ever attaining the highest intellectual glory. It will be a long time before women may be truthfully said to have had a test in comparison with men anything like as fair as that which Americans have had, or perhaps even that which Pennsylvanians have had, in comparison with the world at large; but because America has produced no Dante, no Newton, no Beethoven, it does not enter any one's mind to conclude that the middle heights of fame must be the limit of an American's ambition.

But this is not the only way in which the predisposition to a foregone conclusion manifests itself. I have freely granted the literal correctness of the assertion that women have not in any department achieved the very highest distinction; but when it comes to drawing a much lower line than this, and asserting that women have never come up to it, the case is very different. Writers adopting the view which Mrs. Buckler holds are very apt to betray the kind of bias that shows itself in the famous *jeu d'esprit* about German scholarship written before the days of Germany's pre-eminence in philology:

> "The Germans in Greek
> Are sadly to seek;
> All save only Hermann
> And Hermann's a German."

Work which, if done by a man, would be regarded as falling little short of the highest, takes on in the minds of these writers a feminine littleness or limitation, for no discoverable reason except that the author of it was a woman. Why, for instance, does Mrs. Buckler repeatedly speak of the "domestic" novel as marking the limits of woman's possibilities in the art of fiction? Could anything be more gratuitous? Is *Romola* a domestic novel? I take *Brockhaus' Encyclopædia*, which happens to be

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at my side, and find that this German authority describes it as "a picture of the Italian Renaissance of the last half of the fifteenth century, drawn with a master hand." We all know that it is this and much more; and evidently the writer omitted to mention specifically, in so condensed an account, its other high qualities only because he had just given the following characterization of the earlier novel, *Adam Bede*: "Its excellences are a development of character as profound as it is brilliant, true epic force and richness, a style of extraordinary individuality and purity, and a highly original representation of English provincial life." Does one speak in this way of a mere "domestic novel"? In what derogatory sense can any of George Eliot's novels be so designated? And yet the belittlement implied in the words is heightened by the context; for we find hymn-making, letter-writing, and the composing of domestic novels put together as constituting that "humbler species" in literature which "woman's kind" not only has always been, but "probably will always be found to be."

This underestimation of woman's achievement in a direction in which many women have been distinguished and a few have been truly great is so remarkable, and is so instructive as showing how large a part unconscious bias may play in these judgments, that I shall dwell upon it a moment longer, and forego all criticism of estimates of feminine performance in other fields, which, though not open to so strong an objection, are yet vitiated in the same manner. In a passage other than that just quoted we again find "letter-writing and novels of domestic life" coupled together on an apparently equal footing; and here we find women's excellence in these departments ascribed to "their special demand for the feminine qualities of quick emotions and ready observation." Let me place alongside of this unfavorable estimate some words about George Sand written by the greatest of English critics:

"Whether or not the number of George Sand's 'works—always fresh, always attractive, but poured out too lavishly and rapidly—is likely to prove a hindrance to her fame, I do not care to consider. Posterity, alarmed at the way in which its literary baggage grows upon it, always seeks to leave behind it as much as it can, as much as it dares—everything but masterpieces. But the immense vibration of George Sand's voice upon the ear of Europe will not soon die away. Her passions and her errors have been abundantly talked of. She left them behind her, and men's memory of her will leave

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them behind also. There will remain of her to mankind the sense of benefit and stimulus from the passage upon earth of that large and frank nature, of that large and pure utterance—the large utterance of the early gods."*

The object of this article was stated at the outset to be a negative one. Its purpose was to show that "the facts of history are not only not conclusive, but cannot properly be regarded as establishing even a presumption concerning the limitations of the intellectual powers of woman." The positive proposition *that women are capable of doing such work as has been done* by a few score only of all the thousands of millions of men in the world's history, I have made no attempt to establish. But that the absence, up to the present time, of supreme pre-eminence on the part of any woman cannot be allowed any logical weight in support of the conclusion that the sex is incapable of such distinction, I think the foregoing considerations sufficiently show. I have pointed out, in the first place, that those who draw such an inference entirely fail to pay regard to the all-important question of numbers; they forget for the time being how very rare the kind of achievement is upon the absence of which they base their conclusion. Great nations have gone on for hundreds of years without producing a single important literary figure; and it must be plain to any fair-mined person that the whole number of women in all nations and all times who may be said to have been so placed as justly to be considered in the comparison is far less than that of the men so placed in any great nation in a single century. It is only within the last few decades that any considerable number of girls have grown up with any other notion than that serious intellectual work in their sex is a monstrosity; and only in England and America has a different view of the matter been widely entertained even in our time, the "woman movement" having attained an important character in Germany only within the past five or ten years.

In the second place, I have endeavored to emphasize the fact that even this numerical exclusion of all but an extremely small fraction of the sex does not begin to measure the disadvantage of women in the comparison. Every one must recognize that the minute fraction which may properly be considered at all has not been surrounded by the atmosphere, affected by the agencies, im-

*Matthew Arnold: *Mixed Essays.*

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pelled by the stimuli, which exercise so incalculable an influence upon human achievement; but there is a not unnatural tendency to think that after all there ought to have been *some* women who had risen superior to all these things. It is for this reason that I have dwelt on the utter absence of intellectual greatness in periods of national decadence, and on the universally acknowledged influence of general conditions upon the flourishing of literature, art, and science. But surely the ordinary differences in these conditions which have been uniformly found sufficient wholly to prevent the emergence of genius among men are insignificant in comparison with the unfavorable difference which has always existed in the conditions surrounding women, in every direction of intellectual effort.

A final word as to the importance or unimportance of the whole discussion. There would be no harm in leaving the question entirely open; what is to be deplored is an erroneous belief that it has been settled. In a matter of keen human interest—however unsubstantial or speculative that interest may be—any error is to be deplored, simply as error. But in this case there is another and more special reason for regret. It is that the conclusion which I have been engaged in controverting is sure to be understood by the generality of people as meaning vastly more than in its exact terms it professes to convey. Even those who are not "the generality" slide imperceptibly into this exaggeration of its purport. The most that could be claimed as shown by history, even were the considerations adduced in the present article wholly ignored, would be that women cannot reach the highest heights; yet we see the very able and gifted writer of the article to which this is a reply belittling achievements of members of her own sex which are of undeniable greatness, a thing which can hardly be ascribed to anything else than the bias due to a preconceived theory. Whether or not any woman can be as great as the greatest men, it is quite certain that some women can be as great as very great men; for some women have been.

The capacity for doing excellent work in the most difficult departments of university study, positive experience has now shown to be no more abnormal among women than among men. Yet we see surviving to our own day—and probably, if the truth were known, still very widely entertained—the notion that, leaving out a possible *lusus naturæ* here and there, women are in-

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capable of doing high university work. In a recent number of a prominent Review, I find a Lecturer on History in the University of Cambridge making the utterly ridiculous statement that he had "never seen a woman's papers equal to a man's"; which, if understood literally, would mean that the ablest of the women whose papers had ever come under his eye was not equal to the most stupid of the men. This doubtless is not what he meant to say, but the expression shows the persistence in his mind of an utterly baseless belief in woman's essential inferiority. Any one whose memory extends back twenty-five years will remember the time when the belief was practically universal that women were incapable of mastering the higher mathematics. Go back a little farther, and we find a schoolmaster in one of the principal towns of Massachusetts set down as a visionary because he proposed to undertake to teach girls fractions. A century ago no less a man than Kant declared the unfitness of women for the study of geometry. "It is generally believed in Germany," writes Professor Klein,* one of the greatest of living mathematicians, "that mathematical studies are beyond the capacity of women"; but he assures us that the women who have attended the mathematical courses at Göttingen "have constantly shown themselves from every point of view as able as their male competitors." And it may be remarked that the mathematical work here referred to is as far beyond anything that was taught in America before the opening of the Johns Hopkins University as the work in our best colleges in those days was beyond that of a country school.

It is because the view combated in this article not only is lacking in foundation, but tends to strengthen the hold of beliefs which still cling to the majority of persons, though they have been amply proved to be erroneous, that I feel it to be important that it should be opposed. It is impossible to determine the relative powers of men and women; it will be long before experience can show, even with a moderate degree of probability, what limits there may be to the possibilities of woman in the realm of intellect. Let us not, in the meanwhile, belittle the actual work of women, in pursuance of a baseless dogma of essential inferiority. Let us refrain, for instance, from saying, with Mr. Gosse, that women cannot write poetry requiring art "because they lack the

* "*Les Femmes dans la Science.*" By A. Rebière. Paris, 1897. (Page 318.)

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artistic impulse," when we know not only that they have written such poetry, but that paintings like those of Miss Mary Cassatt or Mme. Demont-Breton, not to speak of older names, show the possession of an extremely high artistic impulse. Let Americans, at least, not talk glibly of women's power in scientific discovery being essentially inferior to men's, until such time as some American mathematician receives as high recognition as that bestowed by the French Academy on the work of Sonia Kovalewski, the judgment being pronounced without knowledge of the writer's sex. Let us not regard the results of women's attempts in poetry and music as utterly fatal to aspirations however high, when we remember that our country has thus far produced neither a great composer nor, in the high sense of the word, a great poet. Let us not lay too great stress on the fact that "in dramatic literature no woman has ever gained for herself any lasting fame," when it is remembered that America has never produced a drama of even moderate excellence; while, on the other hand, I find Prof. Kuno Francke, of Harvard, saying in *The Nation* a few weeks ago, of a drama recently written by a German woman, Giesela von Arnim, the wife of Hermann Grimm, that its chief scene is "one of the most affecting in dramatic literature," that the personages of the play are "characters of genuine grandeur," and that in it the longings and aspirations of the author have "found a supreme poetic expression." In a word, as to what woman may do in the future, let us frankly acknowledge that the future alone can decide, the experience of the past being far too slight to furnish the materials for a forecast; and as to what women have done in the past, or are doing in the present, let us recognize it as what it is, and not as what, in accordance with an unproven generalization, we imagine it must of necessity be.

FABIAN FRANKLIN.

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INDUSTRIAL ADVANCE OF GERMANY.

BY MICHAEL G. MULHALL, F. S. S.

THE formation of the new German Empire in 1871 was the signal for industrial development in all the States of Germany, under a variety of forms. Nor is this the first instance where great political epochs in European kingdoms have been followed by a kind of Renaissance in the arts of industry and peace. England, for example, after Waterloo made unprecedented strides in manufactures. Belgium was no sooner emancipated from the Dutch yoke in 1830 than she commenced a brilliant career of progress. Hungary threw off the Austrian supremacy in 1867, to take her proper rank among nations, and the advancement which she has made in 30 years is nothing short of marvellous. Even Ireland may one day become a country of some importance, if ever the government be autonomous. Meantime, as regards Germany, if we consider her development in the last 20 years we find that in every particular it exceeds relatively that of any other country in Europe, which is the more surprising in view of the burden of an immense military establishment and a geographical position inferior to that of England, France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Holland, Italy, or Turkey.

Population.—The natural increase of the German people in twenty years was close on 12,500,000 souls, or about 30 per cent. on the population of 1875, and about one-fourth of the increase emigrated, leaving a net gain of 9½ millions, viz. :

	1875.	1895.	Increase.
Prussia	25,700,000	31,800,000	6,100,000
Bavaria	5,020,000	5,800,000	780,000
Other States	12,010,000	14,650,000	2,640 000
Total	42,730,000	52,250,000	9,520,000

The tendency to an increase of urban population has been

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even more marked in Germany than in other European countries, for we find that cities have doubled, viz.:

	1875.	1895.	Increase. Per cent.
Urban population	4,670,000	9,180,000	96
Rural "	38,060,000	43,070,000	13
Total	42,730,000	52,250,000	22

It appears that urban population has grown seven times as fast as rural, and that the large cities have grown much more than the small ones, viz.:

	1875.	1895.	Increase. Per cent.
Berlin	830,000	1,680,000	102
Hamburg	240,000	630,000	162
Munich	170,000	410,000	140
Leipzig	110,000	400,000	263
Fifty-six other cities	3,320,000	6,060,000	80
Urban population	4,670,000	9,180,000	96

The material development of Germany could not have been so great but for the rapid growth of population, and this has been by no means uniform, reaching 35 per cent. in Saxony, while it has not exceeded 10 per cent. in Wurtemberg.

Energy.—The working-power of the empire has grown 80 per cent., or almost four times as fast as population, viz. :

	Millions of foot-tons daily.			
Year.	Hand.	Horse.	Steam.	Total.
1875	3,490	10,100	12,110	25,700
1895	4,260	11,540	30,600	46,400

At present the working-power is equal to 900 foot-tons daily per inhabitant, as compared with 600 foot-tons in 1875, so that it may be said two men can now do as much work as three could do twenty years ago.

Agricultural.—Detailed returns are not available earlier than 1880 ; the annual averages for 1893-95 compare with those of 1880-82 as follows :

	Acres.		Crop, tons.	
	1880-82	1893-95	1880-82	1893-95
Grain	33,940,000	37,950,000	14,800,000	18,600,000
Potatoes	6,830,000	7,500,000	21,100,000	31,000,000
Beetroot	1,250,000	2,120,000	12,600,000	20,300,000
Sundries	1,280,000	2,980,000	3,100,000	9,500,000
Hay	14,600,000	14,600,000	18,200,000	17,200,000
Total	57,900,000	65,150,000	69,800,000	96,600,000

The area under crops has risen 12 per cent. in 15 years. The

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average weight of crop (excluding hay) is now 31 hundred-weight per acre, against 24 hundred-weight in 1880-82, being an improvement of 30 per cent. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that agriculture is by no means at so high a level as the necessities of the empire demand, or as might be expected from so industrious and enlightened a people as the Germans. The area of land under cultivation is only 48 per cent. of the whole, the production of food is insufficient for the population, and yet the number of hands employed in farming is nearly the same as in the United States. The production of grain averages two tons to each agricultural hand, against 2½ in France, 3 in Great Britain and 9 in the United States. The annual food-supply, exclusive of imports, is as follows:

	Tons.		
	Grain.	Potatoes.	Meat.
Prussia	10,600,000	20,000,000	920,000
Bavaria	2,300,000	4,300,000	220,000
Other States	5,700,000	6,700,000	380,000
Total	18,600,000	31,000,000	1,520,000

The consumption of potatoes reaches almost 4 pounds daily per inhabitant, being the highest ratio on the European Continent. The production of grain and meat is short of requirements, net imports of grain in the last three years averaging 3½ million tons yearly, from which it appears that Germany subsists on imported grain during two months of the year. As regards pastoral industry there has been an increase of live-stock, except sheep, viz.:

Year.	Horses.	Cattle.	Sheep.	Pigs.
1873	3,350,000	15,780,000	25,000,000	7,120,000
1893	3,840,000	17,560,000	13,600,000	12,170,000

The production of meat has not kept pace with population, having risen only 13 per cent. in 20 years, viz.:

	Tons.			
Year.	Beef.	Mutton.	Pork.	Total.
1873	790,000	280,000	280,000	1,350,000
1893	880,000	150,000	490,000	1,520,000

This gives an actual average of 66 pounds of meat per inhabitant, against 73 pounds in 1873, the supply being now supplemented by 200,000 tons of imported meat, which brings up the consumption to 75 pounds per head. The quantity imported suffices to feed Germany during six weeks of the year. There is,

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moreover, a deficiency of dairy products, for whereas the number of milch cows in 1873 was five per cent. more than requisite for the population, it is now six per cent. below par, and although Germany exports yearly 8,000 tons of butter, she is obliged to import margarine to meet the deficit.

The value of rural products was estimated 40 years ago by Block and Viebahn at 1,540 million thalers, or 1,150 million dollars. In 1895 it reached nearly double that sum, viz.:

	Million dollars.			
	Prussia.	Bavaria.	Other States.	Total.
Grain	312	60	151	523
Potatoes	202	41	62	305
Other crops	280	57	91	428
Meat	182	45	75	302
Dairy products	173	43	72	288
Sundries	91	24	41	156
Total	1,240	270	492	2,002

The sum total is fifty million dollars less than the value of farm products of the twenty-three Western States of the Union, but the number of hands in Germany is two and a half times as great, while the improved area of the Western States is three times that of German farms. In Germany the productive area is equal to no more than eight acres per farming hand; in the Western States it is sixty-two acres. The value of product per acre is, of course, higher in Germany, namely $31, as compared with $10 in the Western States; but the product per farming hand is $620 in the latter, against $250 in Germany. The backward condition of German agriculture arises from a variety of causes, two of which are self-evident. In the first place, eighty per cent. of the farms are so small that much labor is wasted, since it is impossible to use improved machinery, the tenure of land being as follows:

Estates.	Number.	Acres.	Average do.
Large	680,000	85,500,000	125
Small	2,275,000	27,000,000	12

With a 12-acre farm a man can hardly do more than feed his family and pay taxes, whereas the average farm in the Western States of America comprises 140 acres. In the second place, the military system of Germany takes from agriculture the flower of the peasantry. According to the census of 1895, no less than 35 per cent. of the population is agricultural; the actual number of farming hands is 8,200,000, each of the latter hardly raising

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enough food to support six persons. Thus it comes to pass that the German people subsist on imported food during two months in the year, while 52 per cent. of the area of the empire is uncultivated.

Forestry.—There is no country of Europe where the forests constitute a more important or better regulated industry than in Germany. Their extent and gross annual product are approximately as follows:

	Acres.	Yield, dollars.	Dollars, per acre.
Prussia	20,400,000	47,600,000	2.35
Bavaria	5,900,000	15,100,000	2.55
Other States	8,200,000	45,300,000	5.52
Germany	34,500,000	108,000,000	3.13

In the last ten years the average cutting was 38 million tons yearly, of which one-fourth was lumber, the rest firewood, fences, etc. The value of lumber ranges from 4 to 7 dollars per ton (400 feet of board measure); the cost of felling and conveying to high-road averages 33 cents per ton. State forests cover 9,400,000 acres, or more than one-fourth of the forest area. In 1894 there were altogether 380,000 wood-cutters, who felled on an average 100 tons each, the value being 285 dollars per man, and the cutting averaged rather more than a ton (22 cwt.) per acre.

Textile Manufactures.—The weight of fibre consumed in the mills has more than doubled in twenty years; the following table shows the averages for two years at the beginning and at the end of that interval:

	Tons yearly.			
Years.	Cotton.	Wool.	Flax, etc.	Total.
1874-75	120,000	80,000	80,000	280,000
1894-95	290,000	185,000	115,000	590,000

Germany consumes 30,000 tons more fibre than France, whereas the latter country was very much ahead before the Franco-German war. The consumption as compared with that in Great Britain is as three to seven. Nearly all the fibre used in German mills is imported, home production consisting only of 25,000 tons wool and 55,000 flax. Germany has distanced all other Continental nations in cotton manufactures, and counts at present 4,700,000 spindles, of which one-third belong to Alsace-Lorraine and were formerly French. She comes next after France in silk manufactures, and as regards woollens the two countries are about equal. The growth of textile manufactures in Germany

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may be, in a manner, measured by the increase of population in the principal seats of this class of industry, viz.:

Year.	Krefeld.	Barmen.	Elberfeld.	Chemnitz.	Dusseldorf.	Total.
1875.	60,000	70,000	72,000	68,000	70,000	340,000
1895.....	110,000	130,000	140,000	160,000	180,000	720,000

These five towns, where textile industries flourish, have in the aggregate more than doubled their population, and we have seen that the consumption of fibre has likewise more than doubled. The value of textile goods exported has almost trebled, rising from 42 million dollars in 1875 to 113 millions in 1895. The approximate value of textile manufactures produced in 1895 was 540 million dollars, of which there remained for home consumption 427 millions' worth, equal to 8 dollars per inhabitant, against 15 dollars per head in Great Britain and 13 in the United States.

Hardware.—While textile industry rose 110 per cent. in 20 years, the increase of hardware has been much greater, namely 180 per cent., the production of metals having been as follows:

	Tons.			
Year:	Iron.	Lead.	Zinc, etc.	Total.
1875.....	2,020,000	70,000	90,000	2,180,000
1895.....	5,790,000	100,000	170,000	6,060,000

Germany holds third place among the nations of the world as a producer of steel, the output in the above period having risen from 35,000 to 2,500,000 tons. The annual output of iron and steel goods is of the approximate value of 430 million dollars, of which nearly one-fifth is exported. The value of all hardware manufactures is about 525 million dollars, home consumption standing for 440 millions, equal to 8¼ dollars per inhabitant, against 6 dollars in France, 12 in Great Britain and 16 in the United States. The weight of metal consumed annually* averages 205 pounds per inhabitant in Germany, as compared with 280 pounds in Great Britain and 320 in the United States. There are 750 first-class machine factories in Germany, of which Prussia has 300, turning out everything requisite for railways, agriculture, mining, etc. Krupp's covers one thousand acres, employing 310 steam engines and 20,000 workmen, and consuming one million tons of steel yearly. The rapidity with which the manufacture of hardware has grown in Germany may be judged

*The consumption of metal in some countries is almost equal to the consumption of bread.

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from the fact that it compared with that of France in 1875 as four to three, and in 1895 as five to two. Its present position as compared with that of Great Britain is as three to four.

Sugar.—This is another important branch of manufacture, shown briefly thus:

Year.	Tons. Beetroot.	Sugar.	Do., exported.	Bounty, dollars.
1876	4,160,000	360,000	55,000	2,200,000
1886	7,070,000	810,000	500,000	22,500,000
1896	12,300,000	1,620,000	960,000	4,600,000

The quantity of beetroot consumed in the mills has trebled, the production of sugar quadrupled, and the exportation multiplied eighteen fold. Whether owing to improved machinery or to a better description of beetroot the yield per ton of roots has risen from less than 9 per cent. to more than 13 per cent. To make the difference clearer let it be understood that if the percentage yield were the same as 20 years ago, the product in 1896 would have been only 1,060,000 tons of sugar; therefore, a ton of beetroot now produces 53 per cent. more sugar than in 1875. The ordinary crop of beet to the acre is the same now (10 tons) as it was then, but the yield of sugar is now 3,000 pounds to the acre, against 1,960 pounds in 1875. The superior yield has fully compensated for the fall of price, otherwise the industry would perhaps have gone to ruin. It is evidently in a thriving position, as the increase of exports shows:

Tons yearly.	1888-90.	1891-93.	1894-96
Sugar made	1,020,000	1,190,000	1,570,000
" consumed	400,000	470,000	710,000
" exported	620,000	720,000	860,000

The average consumption of sugar in 1888–90 was 18 pounds yearly per inhabitant, and is at present 30 pounds, which is evidence that the people are better fed than they were seven years ago. At the same time the industry is so thriving that the bounty on exportation has been reduced from $45 to $5 per ton. Germany now produces 40 per cent. of the beet sugar made in Europe, as compared with 30 per cent. in 1876.

Mining.—In this industry Germany is surpassed only by the United States and Great Britain, the weight of minerals having risen 120 per cent. in 20 years:

Year.	Tons raised. Coal.	Iron ore.	Zinc, etc., do.	Total.
1875	49,500 000	3,700,000	1,700,000	54,900.000
1895	104,000,000	12,300,000	3,900,000	120,200,000

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The number of miners is 400,000, and the average weight of mineral raised per man is 287 tons, against 190 in 1875, which signifies that two miners raise as much as three could twenty years ago. The value of minerals raised in 1895 was 172 million dollars, equal to $430 per miner, against $810 in the United States. The annual consumption of coal is 2 tons in Germany, 2½ in the United States, and 4 in Great Britain per head of the population.

Shipping.—No country except Great Britain has made such progress in merchant shipping in the last twenty years as Germany, viz.:

	Tons register.			Carrying power.
	Steamer.	Sailing.	Total.	
1875	180,000	900,000	1,080,000	1,620,000
1895	880,000	620,000	1,500,000	4,140,009

Nominal tonnage has increased only forty per cent., but steamers have so far taken the place of sailing vessels that the carrying power has risen 156 per cent. The German merchant navy has one-seventh of the carrying power of the British, one-third of that of the United States.

Commerce.—If we count the value of imports and exports the increase since 1876 has not been remarkable, the fall of prices having greatly reduced the nominal amount from what it would have been. The value of imports and exports (including goods in transit) was as follows:

	Millions, dollars.		
Year.	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
1876	950	640	1,590
1886	740	770	1,510
1896	1,140	940	2,080

One-fifth of the trade is with Great Britain and her colonies; the next in the rank of customers are Austria and the United States, the transactions with the latter country reaching 170 million dollars yearly. The weight of merchandise exchanged between Germany and other countries has almost trebled, viz.:

	Tons.		
Year.	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
1876	$11,500,000	$10,700,000	$22,200,000
1886	16,900,000	18,900,000	35,800,000
1896	36,400,000	25,700,000	62,100,000

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According to the tonnage entries it appears that 42 per cent. of the carrying-trade of German ports is done on German bottoms, as compared with 38 per cent. twenty years ago, which shows that although the German flag is gaining ground the merchant shipping of the empire is wholly insufficient, more than half of the trade of Germany being still done on foreign bottoms.

Railways.—Germany has more railways than any other country in the world, except the United States, having increased her mileage 62 per cent. since 1875, viz. :

	1875.	1885.	1895.
Prussia	9,870	13,490	18,090
Bavaria	2,440	3,160	3,800
Other States	5,070	5,990	6,350
Total	17,380	22,640	28,240

In the last 20 years the State has purchased or built 20,000 miles of railway, and at present it owns 25,400 miles, or 90 per cent. of all lines in the empire. This has powerfully aided the development of all industries by adopting low rates of tariff. The ordinary freight charge is $1.50 for carrying one ton 100 miles, as compared with $3.60 in Great Britain, while it is only 72 cents in the United States. The cost of the State railways of Germany has been 2,550 million dollars, and the net profit in the years 1894–95 averaged 127 million dollars, equal to 5 per cent. on the cost. As the government borrowed the money to buy the railways at 4 per cent., the Treasury makes a net gain of 25 million dollars, besides rendering an incalculable service to the empire by the reduction of freight charges.

Banking.—The amount of paper money in circulation has risen 40 per cent., that of bullion-reserve 100 per cent. in twenty years, official returns showing thus :

	Million dollars.	
Year.	Paper money.	Bullion reserve.
1877	230	136
1895	318	273

The sum total of banknotes and coin in use in 1895 was 1,150 million dollars, against 760 millions in 1875. This is an increase of only 50 per cent., whereas the industries of the empire had a mean increase of 116 per cent., which shows that it is by no means necessary that money and industry should increase in like

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degree, as bimetallists pretend. The coinage of hard money in the last twenty years has been as follows:

Period.	Million dollars. Gold.	Silver.	Total.	Per annum.
1876-85	164	72	236	23.6
1886-95	269	11	280	28.0
Twenty years	433	83	516	25.8

The amount of money in Germany, notes and coin, is equal to $22 per inhabitant, against $18 in Great Britain, $60 in France, and $35 in the United States.

Savings banks have made wonderful progress all over Germany. We find, for example, that in Prussia the number of depositors has trebled, and the amount of deposits risen 500 per cent., viz.:

Year.	Depositors.	Dollars.	Average, dollars.
1872	1,706,000	145,000,000	85
1892	5,773,000	850,000,000	147

It may be said that every family in Prussia has a savings bank account. There are, moreover, in Germany 9,950 popular banks on the Raffeisen and Schulze-Dèlitzsch systems, first invented in 1850; they count 510,000 members, and their outstanding loans in 1893 reached 360 million dollars.

Wealth.—Official tables of income tax for Prussia show the number of persons having incomes over 750 dollars yearly as follows:

Year.	Number.	Per thousand inhabitants.
1875	139,500	5.3
1881	173,000	6.4
1893	319,000	10.3

It would appear that wealth has increased twice as fast as population, the affluent class having risen from five per thousand to double that ratio in 18 years. In 1890 Soetbeer estimated the aggregate earnings of persons subject to income tax in Prussia at 2,500 million dollars yearly, which is equivalent to 4,200 millions for the whole empire, exclusive of persons not liable to income-tax. The earnings of the nation in 1894 were approximately as follows:

From	Million dollars. Prussia.	Bavaria.	Other States.	Germany.
Agriculture	760	170	280	1,210
Manufactures	950	165	545	1,660
Trade	790	150	410	1,350
Other occupations	1,190	205	545	1,940
Total	3,690	690	1,780	6,160

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This gives an average income of $117 per inhabitant in Prussia, and $119 for all Germany in general; average expenditure is about $109, the accumulation of wealth in recent years having averaged annually $10 per head.

The total wealth of the empire in 1895 was almost equal to that of the Western States of the Union (39,400 millions of dollars), and was made up thus:

	Million dollars.				
	Farms.	Houses.	Railways.	Sundries.	Total.
Prussia	7,610	5,040	1,740	9,310	23,700
Bavaria	1,630	865	330	1,735	4,560
Saxony	350	630	180	1,030	2,190
Wurtemberg	620	370	100	690	1,780
Other States	1,890	1,495	420	2,615	6,420
Germany	12,100	8,400	2,770	15,380	38,650

This gives an average of $755 per head of the population in Prussia, and $750 for all Germany, as compared with $1,120 per head in the United States.*

Finances.—The revenue of the States of Germany, including the proportionate shares of imperial taxation, has been as follows:

	Million dollars.		Dollars per inhabitant.	
	1875.	1895.	1875.	1895.
Prussia	244	614	9.40	19.40
Bavaria	70	109	10.40	18.80
Saxony	17	25	6.20	7.50
Wurtemberg	17	23	9.00	11.00
Other States	62	131	8.50	14.80
Total	410	902	9.50	17.10

From this it would appear at first sight as if taxation had doubled in twenty years, but this is by no means the case. Much of the increase arises from the receipts of government railways, as the following table shows:

	Revenue, million dollars.		Dollars per inhabitant.	
	1875.	1895.	1875.	1895.
Railways	62	307	1.50	5.90
General revenues	348	595	8.00	11.20
Total	410	902	9.50	17.10

If we exclude railway receipts the general revenue shows an average of $11.20 per inhabitant, an increase of $3.20 or 40 per cent. in 20 years, which is by no means excessive, seeing that the mean progress of 8 principal industries has been 110 per cent.

* The census of 1890 gave an average of $1,049; subsequent accumulations would bring it up to $1,120.

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in the same interval. If all nations enjoyed an equal ratio of wealth per inhabitant we should find Germany to be very lightly taxed, the sum total of general and local taxes giving the following averages per inhabitant*: $9.60 in Germany, $18 in France, and $12 in the United States. But when we come to compare taxation with wealth it appears that the incidence is heavier in Germany than in the United States, viz.:

	Dollars per inhabitant.		
	Wealth.	Taxation.	Tax per $100 of wealth.
Germany	750	9.60	1.28
United States	1,120	12.00	1.07

In view of the foregoing comparisons it is permitted to say that Germany is lightly taxed in relation to Europe in general, but not so lightly as the United States.

As regards public debt that of Germany is now nominally five times as much as it was before the Franco-German war, viz:—

	Million dollars.			
Year.	Prussia.	Bavaria.	Small States.	Total.
1867	235	150	235	620
1896	1,825	385	690	2,900

No less than 88 per cent. of the present debt is represented by State railways, purchased by means of scrip bearing 3½ to 4 per cent. interest. The ordinary net earnings of these railways average 5 per cent., and hence the investment leaves a large annual profit to the Treasury. If we deduct the sum paid for State railways, the real debt of Germany will be found not to exceed 350 million dollars, which is less than 7 dollars per inhabitant, as compared with $30 per head in the United States, $105 in Great Britain, and $175 in France, between national and local debts in these countries. Hence it is evident that in this respect Germany enjoys an enviable advantage over other countries.

There is no necessity to recapitulate the items of German progress in the last 20 years: they are (except in agriculture) so striking as to command admiration, however we may deplore the military system and the autocratic tendency of the present regime. The increase of wealth is the natural result of the marvellous development of industry, and the latter must in great measure be ascribed to the advanced state of instruction in every part of the empire and among all classes of the people.

MICHAEL G. MULHALL.

* Excluding all revenue not raised by taxation, viz, Crown forests, State railways, Post-office, etc.

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A PARADISE OF GOOD GOVERNMENT.

BY MAX O'RELL.

THE inhabitants of the pretty little island of Jersey are the richest, the happiest, the freest, and the best governed people on the earth. The assertion is not an audacious one and can be proved point by point.

Let us proceed in order.

Jersey belongs to the English—nominally, yes; in reality, no. Jersey belongs to the Jerseyans. But, you will say, the Jersey people do homage to the Queen of England. True enough, and yet no. It is as Duchess of Normandy, and not as Queen of England, that her Britannic Majesty claims recognition as the sovereign by the people of Jersey. Let us reason this out. It was a Duke of Normandy who in 1066 made the conquest of England, and it is the descendants of the Normans who still inhabit Jersey. In doing homage to the Duchess of Normandy the Jersey people remind England that she was long ago conquered by their ancestors. Conclusion arrived at by every true-born Jerseyan: It is not Jersey that belongs to England, it is England that belongs to Jersey. This being admitted in all corners of the little island, the English and the Jerseyans get on very well together. John Bull takes good care not to wound the feelings of the people whose countries are marked in red on all the maps of the world published in England. He is the prince of diplomatists.

The independence of Jersey is perfect. Its people make their own laws, levy their own taxes, and pay none whatever to the English. The governor of the island opens the Parliament in the name of the Duchess of Normandy and passes the rest of his time in giving soirees and garden parties and granting to priv-

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ileged tradesmen permission to announce that it is at their shops he gets hatted, booted, or furnished with various necessaries. Just as in the colonies, the governor is the leader of good society, a kind of good King Log, who could perfectly well be replaced by a portrait of himself painted on the gate of Government House, the possessor of one of the best sinecures in the world.

> "Gouvernement facile et beau,
> A qui suffit pour toute garde,
> Un Suisse avec sa hallebarde
> Peint sur la porte du château."

The Jersey people all speak French. In good society it is English that one hears; commerce is conducted in French and English. Away from the towns, among the peasant proprietors, nothing but French is heard.

The official language of Jersey is French. All the debates in the Island Parliament, called the States, are carried on in French, and only candidates who can speak French are eligible. I might also say here that only a respectable life, an untarnished reputation, allows a man to stand as a successful candidate for public life. What a lesson to the world this is! In all the courts of justice magistrates and lawyers use the French language. All official documents are written in French, and to show how perfectly the Jerseyans are masters in their own island, I will give you an amusing little incident that occurred, so to speak, yesterday. John Bull one day took it into his head to suggest to the Jerseyans, *not* that the English language should officially take the place of the French (his presumption would never go so far as that), but that the use of the English idiom should be, if not obligatory, at least optional. The good Jersey folk did not see the matter with John Bull's eyes. "For centuries past," they replied, "we have spoken French, and we intend to continue to do so. We shall never allow the English language to penetrate into our public life." You see, John Bull is not much at home in Jersey, since he is not allowed officially to speak his own language there. But he is a philosopher. He came home to England, and said to his councillors: "The Jersey people wish to go on speaking French. It does me no harm, so we will let them go on speaking French as much as they like, and say no more about it." And this is

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how the English behave towards all their colonies, that is how it comes to pass that if they know well how to found colonies they know still better how to keep them. They keep such a light hand on the reins that they scarcely seem to be driving the coach at all. Yet the driving is of the best.

The Jersey people are so proud of their French origin (or to be more exact, their Norman origin) that they choose none but their own countrymen to make their laws and govern their towns and villages. An Englishman, no matter how rich or how clever, who went and set up in Jersey, would not have the least chance of being elected member of the Island Parliament, still less of being made constable or Mayor. At the Town Hall of St. Helier I saw the list of constables. This list dates from 1529. There was only one name upon it which was not French.

The following incident will show how well Jersey knows how to make herself respected by England, and also how England treats the countries which form part of the British Empire. The English Crown having, on June 23, 1891, decided to change the composition of the Council of Prisons in Jersey, the parliament of the island sent delegates to England to plead their cause before the Privy Council against the Crown. They declared that they had decided for themselves the composition of the Council of Prisons in 1837; that they meant to be masters in their island; that the act of the Crown was illegal, tyrannical, and threatened the liberties of the Jersey people. The Privy Council decided the case entirely in their favor against the Crown of England, and the composition of the Council of Prisons therefore remained unchanged. The whole case was related to me by M. P. Baudins, the kind and popular constable of St. Helier. *Ex uno parvo disce omnes.*

The Jersey Parliament is only composed of one legislative chamber, called *Les Etats*. In this parliament you find a happy combination of *ancien régime* and modern democracy. The members of parliament are the twelve judges, representing the nobility; the rectors of the twelve parishes of the island, who represent the clergy; the twelve constables or mayors, and three gentlemen of St. Helier, who represent the Third Estate. Jersey satisfies the traditions of the past in seeing that the nobility, the clergy, and the representatives of the people sit in parliament; she satisfies the claims of modern democracy in seeing that

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judges, rectors, constables, and representatives of the people are all chosen by the people.

The Parliament can only pass laws that are to last three years. For a law to become permanent it must receive the sanction of the Privy Council, but the Privy Council has never refused this sanction, and if ever it should take it into its head to do so the Parliament would have but to re-make the law in question every three years, and things would go on as before. This is nothing short of perfect autonomy, nay, independence; impossible to imagine a more perfect home rule. No upper house, as you see, dangerous when it does not agree with the lower house, useless when it does. Does it not seem as if a second house must always be a danger or a useless encumbrance? There is a little episode in the history of the France of our own times which has, I think, been too quickly forgotten. This episode might enlighten many nations on the uselessness of a second house. It happened under the Second Empire. The French Senate at that time was composed of a set of superior men—I say superior because they were picked men, chosen by the Emperor, it is true, but chosen nevertheless—all men of importance, having achieved their position, not by birth, like the members of the English House of Lords, but by their talents: cardinals, archbishops, marshals, generals, *savants*, men of letters, princes of commerce, etc., and all, with one or two exceptions, partisans of the Empire. The duty of the Senate was to watch over the constitution, and to throw out any bill passed by the Chamber of Deputies which might threaten the existence of the actual form of government. Well! and what happened? In the month of July, 1870, war broke out between France and Prussia, and on the 4th of September following the Lower House deposed the Emperor and proclaimed a republic. Now was the time for the Senate to uphold the constitution. What did these Senators at 6,000 dollars a year do? They bolted, and even forgot to call at the counting-house for their month's salary. They did not go to glory or death; they made straight for the station. They had been clean forgotten. In face of the will of the people, clearly expressed, they had nothing to do but pack up. These good gentlemen proved that in a great decisive hour an upper house is absolutely useless. In England, when the Liberals are in power, the House of Lords can at

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any moment hinder the wheels of the governmental machinery from working. When the Conservatives are in office, the House of Lords, whose support of the government may be counted on in advance, can take a holiday. If ever any one should say to me that a nation could not govern itself with a single legislative House, I should reply: Look at Jersey;' that which succeeds on a small scale would surely succeed on a large.

The Jersey people have advanced little by little, without shocks, without violence, without revolutions, and have succeeded, while holding on firmly to their past, in establishing a government which might well be the envy of the whole world. The Jerseyans hold such and such a custom sacred, because it is ancient; but, ravenous after justice and liberty, they would shed their blood to the last drop rather than submit to despotism.

Nothing is more curious than to hear mentioned in this well-ordered little republic such things as *seigneurial* rights and the *bon plaisir* of the Duchess of Normandy. Here you might believe yourself living in the Middle Ages; you ask yourself if Fate has not pitched you down in one of those happy countries described in books which treat of the world as it is to be in the year of grace two thousand and something. In England, too, Her Majesty Queen Victoria, Duchess of Normandy, speaks of her *bon plaisir*. As you read certain royal proclamations you ask yourself whether the present Queen of England does not really still enjoy the same prerogatives as William the Conqueror. The words are a form, nothing more. The English do not break with their traditions as we do; they live on souvenirs, prejudices even, and a long chain of events which constantly reminds them of a glorious past. The Queen, then, can afford to speak of her "*bon plaisir*" in the proclamations which her ministers, that is to say, the *servants* of the people, polish for her. It is a mere formula. As a matter of fact, if the Queen of England, or any member of her family, ventured on, I do not say an act, but a word, bearing upon politics outside the family circle, the days of the English monarchy would be numbered.

I am told that the *cri de Haro* may still be heard in the island. This is an institution dating from 912, and brought there by Rollo, first Duke of Normandy, when he annexed them to his duchy. If a Jersey or Guernsey man is attacked or molested in any way, and he can in the presence of two witnesses

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fall on his knees, calling on his aggressor to respect him, while he invokes the name of Rollo, crying *"Haro! Haro! A l'aide, mon prince!"* the aggressor is bound to forthwith abstain from further act of violence or menacing speech ; he is arrested on the spot and the matter is decided before a tribunal. Nay, more, any person who is a witness to such a scene and allows the offender to escape is himself liable to a fine.

The island of Jersey is about ten miles long and about six miles wide. It has a population of about 55,000. Four drives, which you will never forget as long as you live, will make you acquainted with every corner of this little terrestrial paradise. It is not so much the mild, temperate climate, the fertile soil, the shady lanes, the wild cliffs, the sheltered beaches, a hilly landscape full of changing beauty ; it is not this that you will be most struck with. It is the atmosphere of happiness and contentment that you breathe on every side which will delight you and make you feel that no corner of the earth can offer to the traveller a spot more favored by nature, that no community is better administered.

It is not politically alone that Jersey belongs to the Jerseyans. These happy islanders are not only masters *in* their isle, but *of* their isle. The Irish, in their wildest dreams, have never dreamed of possessing Ireland more completely than the Jerseyans possess Jersey, and yet John Bull declares that if ever he grants home rule to Ireland the British Empire will crumble to pieces—but do not let us be drawn on to the slippery and treacherous ground of modern English politics, nor, above all, the Irish question. *Restons avec nos moutons.*

The land of Jersey is in the hands of a frugal and industrious people, worthy descendants of the rural populations of Normandy and Brittany. Not a square inch of ground that does not produce a potato or a cabbage. Prosperity reigns on all sides. Not one dilapidated house. In this bee-hive of an island everything speaks aloud of cleanliness, comfort, and even of riches, to those who can understand that real wealth does not consist in the quantity of things we possess, but in those that we can do without, if need be. Jersey is a kitchen garden of about seventy square miles, picturesque, healthy, fertile, strewn with cottages that are wrapped in roses, and when I have told you that the cultivation of the potato alone brings in from twelve to fourteen millions of

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francs annually, that is to say about three millions of dollars, I shall have no trouble in convincing you that poverty is practically unknown in Jersey. Happy Jersey! Add to this that, with the exception of wine and liqueurs, which pay a light duty, all kinds of merchandise enter Jersey untaxed; that living is consequently very cheap; that the income tax collector is unknown; that a crowd of tourists visit the isle during four months of the year; that activity reigns everywhere, not the feverish activity of the Americans, but the regular, uniform, intelligent activity of the French; that the soil is so fertile that flowers and fruits seem to spring from it as by enchantment; that the landscape is most picturesque and varied; that the climate is delicious; and you will conclude that Jersey is probably the Eldorado of the world, and the Jersey folk, as I said before, the richest and happiest people on the surface of the globe.

Nor is this all. The social element adds yet one more charm to a sojourn in the island. Jersey society is charming, and if you have the good fortune to arrive there armed with a few letters of introduction you will be feted and made much of by the most hospitable people that you can ever dream of meeting anywhere.

If you love contrasts, Jersey has an endless supply to offer. The manners of the Faubourg St. Germain of to-day flourish in one place, and a mile's travelling brings you to a peasantry who, by their speech and their manners, might make you believe yourself in the depths of old Brittany as it was centuries ago. Go, for instance, to a garden party in one of the dainty villas of St. Helier, from thence drive to the pretty beach of Plémont, on the north of the island, and draw rein in the village of Saint-Ouen, about four miles from St. Helier. There you will find yourself in the Brittany or Normandy of the Crusaders' times. Ask your way of any peasant you may pass, and the good fellow will reply, "*Oui, M'sieu, tout dret.*" No diphthongs, as in the old Norman dialect of the *Langue d'Oil!* It is not a mere question of speech, for if you hold a sustained conversation with him, you will find that he thinks as did the peasant of five hundred years ago.

Here is a little incident told to me by one of the foremost doctors of St. Helier. It will make you forget for a moment that we are so near the twentieth century. A peasant of the village

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of Saint-Ouen came to St. Helier to seek a doctor, bringing with him his daughter, who was ill. "What is your daughter suffering from?" asks the doctor. "Upon my word," replied the son of the soil, "I cannot tell you, and that is why we are here." The doctor put a few questions to the girl and examined her. "Your daughter appears to be anæmic," said he, "I will give her some medicine, which must be taken very regularly." "No, no," put in the father, "write down the name of the disease for me on a piece of paper." In Jersey it is the custom for doctors to supply patients with the medicines which they need, and, moreover, a Jersey doctor can make no claim for payment unless he has supplied drugs. No physic, no bill; and the wily Saint Ouen peasants are not so ignorant but that they are awake to this fact: their Norman origin must be borne in mind. The doctor, having written the name of the girl's complaint, the father has obtained what he came for, and straightway makes for his village home. There, he, his wife, and all the other members of the family having gathered together, incantations are begun. All the saints are addressed in turn, and as they may not guess the disease from which the poor girl suffers, the little bit of paper will prove useful. "St. Peter," the family cry in chorus, "cure Marie Maillard of atrophy; St. Paul! cure Marie Maillard of atrophy; St. Anne! cure Marie Maillard of atrophy!" and so on to the end of the calendar.

Alongside these superstitutions and methods of the Middle Ages you find modern British puritanism flourishing and rampant. If you make an excursion in the island on a Sunday, you cannot procure the slightest refreshment, not even a glass of milk or a cup of tea, that sanctified beverage which Britons drink in modest sips, with the subdued and innocent air of a child taking the first communion. A few days before I reached Jersey, the hotel-keepers had besought the Royal Court to allow them to open their doors on Sunday afternoons from two to five. They promised not to sell any alcoholic drinks, but to limit their Sabbath trade to such harmless refreshments as lemonade, tea, milk, etc. The request was refused. Among the expressions of opinions set forth in support of continuing the Sunday closing, I culled the following: "I consider that besides the terrestrial law there is a celestial law to respect. I have sworn to do everything in my power to advance

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the cause of God, and in voting for the opening of hotels on Sundays I should be breaking my vow and should be putting my soul in peril." You might think that this is part of the speech of a member of the Raad in the Transvaal. The superstition of Saint Ouen peasants proves how little the Breton character is capable of assimilation, even in a restricted island like Jersey. The puritanism of the witness, whose deposition I have just quoted, proves that if the Jersey folks have succeeded in keeping British fingers out of their political pie, they have allowed an entrance to middle-class British cant.

It must be admitted that these are only insignificant flaws in a picture almost perfect. In fact, these little blemishes are rather interesting to the traveller who likes taking notes and carrying home souvenirs of manners and customs, as well as sketches of landscape. I have been round the world. I know America, Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and have a passable knowledge of Europe. I do not remember ever to have passed a fortnight more pleasantly and more interestingly than in the pretty, picturesque, and interesting little island of Jersey.

MAX O'RELL.

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COMMERCIAL SUPERIORITY OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY WORTHINGTON C. FORD, CHIEF OF THE BUREAU OF STATISTICS AT WASHINGTON.

THE ability to use statistics with point and intelligence is a rare one, and it is no uncommon experience to find even an expert drawing conclusions from a set of figures (statistics) that are in reality neither applicable to the subject treated, nor capable of a general interpretation. Any compilation of returns, commercial, industrial, or financial, is reduced to a per capita basis, and on that basis is reared a superstructure that becomes unstable, incomplete, and subject to condemnation, when examined in the light of related facts.

To gauge a people's welfare by production or consumption per capita of any one article, or a few articles, is an enticing and really simple method. To draw proper conclusions is difficult, and in the majority of instances is out of the question. Bananas constitute an important and nutritious article of food; a West Indian consumes more bananas than an inhabitant of the United States; therefore, a West Indian is better fed, and is, in consequence, better off than his neighbor in the States. It would not require much thought or attention to point out the fallacy of such estimate and reasoning. Again, in Germany, the consumption of spirits, in 1896, was 4.7 quarts per capita; in the African colonies of Germany the returns showed a per capita consumption of 17 quarts. As a luxury, a large consumption of spirits proves a prosperous people. Therefore, the Cameroon is nearly four times more prosperous than the German.

The bare figures prove nothing, and yet every writer on social questions feels that he clinches his argument by a per capita calculation, rarely stopping to question how his calculation has been

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obtained. For this method, when correctly applied, is highly scientific, and only in the hands of a skilled worker, possessed of wide and accurate knowledge, and eliminating all possible sources of error as carefully as an analyzing chemist, can it prove acceptable. If it is attempted to frame a generalization on the consumption of quinine and of opium, hardly two investigators would agree in their results. For some regard opium as a curse, and would use it to gauge a people's indulgences, not its sobriety and welfare. Yet most of the opium brought into the United States is used in medicinal preparations, and stands, therefore, almost on the same ground in general utility as quinine.

Some protest is called for against the loose application of this per capita method to commercial statistics, even where the foundation is made to rest upon a series of years. Agriculture makes little progress outside of the application, more or less limited, of chemical knowledge to the treatment of soils, and of mechanical appliances to planting and gathering the crops. These improvements are akin to the improvements in instruments of carriage. They have enabled more land to be put in cultivation, and the crops to be more readily prepared for market. But there has been no such producing revolution in agriculture as there has been in manufactures. In 1869 the average yield of wheat per acre was 13.5 bushels; in only five years since has this average been attained, and in some years it was lower than 11 bushels. The other cereals will give the same difference in results from year to year. Does this show that agriculture has actually retrograded since 1869, or would a per capita production be a true guide in determining that question?

The foreign commerce of the United States has always rested upon agriculture, and until the last five years three-fourths of the exports was represented by agricultural products. To measure its power or influence in foreign markets would require a study of the conditions governing the production of and demand for each leading article, in foreign as well as domestic markets. To confine the attention to the aggregate returns of the United States is the very way not to discover the truth; or it is more often the demand from a foreign source that counts than the home condition. The market of to-day is not supplied by goods brought to it "for a market"; the seller does not take the initi-

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ative, except in a few lines. The wool market of London does attract consignments, because it is known that demand centres there, and a sale is more readily made than elsewhere. But for the larger share of commercial transactions goods are shipped on orders ; the buyer determines the movement and destination.

In the few cases of true monopolies the condition is much the same. Chili deserves as little credit for her exports of nitrates as Italy deserves for brimstone, for each is possessed of the only deposits of these natural products commercially practicable. It was not many years ago when the copper of the United States was regarded as worthy of careful protection ; now the product controls the markets of Europe. Twenty years ago the production of cane sugar in the world far exceeded that of beet root ; ten years ago the beet root product equalled the cane, and in this last year the quantity of beet produced was double that of cane. In 1879 more than one-half of the value of the import trade of British India was represented by yarn and manufactures of cotton. In 1896 India had excluded English low-grade cottons from the local markets, and was exporting largely raw cotton, yarns, and cloth to Asiatic countries, and building up a large trade in cloth with Africa. In no one of these instances would mere commercial returns have given a satisfactory answer to a question involving the cause of the movement or of the revolution accomplished in production or direction of trade. Commercial returns, more or less imperfect as they must be, are only surface indications of the deep-lying undercurrents which carry along the economic development of a people.

The present year offers an instance of the danger of generalizing from commercial returns. The largest exports of wheat and wheat flour, from the United States, were made in 1892 and 1893, incident to the famine in Russia and the moderate yield in France, which led to heavy demands on outside holdings of grain. The grain supply of the world was deficient in 1894 and 1895 ; in 1896 the famine and plague in British India, a partial failure of crop in Europe, and the almost complete destruction of the Argentine wheat export came as a climax to a series of misfortunes. So that the situation in 1897 was of so unusual a character as to stand alone, and to require an explanation which the returns of no single country could give in any but a most misleading form. It is a world movement, and with every step for-

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ward in production or exchange, the elements of such a movement become multiplied and more complex. In the twelve months of 1896, the United States exported 83,756,000 bushels of wheat and 131,960,500 bushels of corn. In the first seven months of 1897, the exports of wheat were 6,200,000 bushels less than in the same period of 1896, but the exports of corn were 51,000,000 bushels greater.

To have based upon these returns any estimate of the ability of the United States to encounter a sudden demand for breadstuffs would have been misleading. In August a great change occurred, and continued through September. A sudden flurry in the price of wheat was reflected in an enormous export, so that at the end of October the returns gave a movement in wheat of 15,600,000 bushels more in the ten months of 1897 than in 1896, and of corn an increase of 54,000,000 bushels. The movement of corn was checked, and that of wheat was much stimulated. The two months of August and September would have destroyed any average export based upon the year's movement, and introduced a disturbing factor in an average for five years. Standing by themselves they were inexplicable; but when the prices in foreign markets, notably in France, and the estimated visible supply of wheat are examined, the export is no longer freakish and abnormal, but just what might have been expected.

The exceptional character of the wheat movement may be illustrated by a few incidents. Mr. O'Conor, the able head of the Statistics of the Government of India, writing on the trade of that empire in 1896–97, says: "Wheat was imported from the United States into Calcutta to the extent of 24,400 tons—an unprecedented event not again to happen, it may be hoped, after the present year which will record a further importation—a gift from the charitable in the States. . . . Of the total importations of food-grains more than half came from the United States, and most of the other half from Turkish ports in the Persian Gulf." In Europe, Austria-Hungary, which usually may be counted upon to give from four to eight million bushels of wheat for export, for the first time is enrolled among the importing countries. Even America has its similar surprises. For in August and September New York was actually exporting wheat to Argentina, less than 300,000 bushels to be

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sure, but a quantity large enough to emphasize the unusual conditions of the wheat situation throughout the world. San Francisco in July exported to Brazil 253,085 bushels of wheat, a transaction quite as unusual as that with Argentina. The pre-eminence now held by the United States in the wheat markets of Europe cannot continue without a continuance of the conditions giving rise to it. It is estimated that the present home wheat crop is one of the largest ever gathered in our history; but mere product will not give command of market. It is true the wheat of Argentina does not come into Europe before February, and in large quantities not before April or May. Australian wheat cannot be counted upon before midsummer, and the Indian grain is not available before June, or even later. Until these new crops are gathered the American supply must be the mainstay of the markets of Europe for what is required above home products.* Even that resource is not unlimited and a high authority recently wrote:

"We come again to the one fact, namely, that all depends upon the outturn of the crop now struggling for existence on the hard-baked plains of Argentina. Should it succumb, there seems as if nothing stood between the hungry consumer, and actual want, but some substitute such as rye or maize."

The immense economic advantage thus possessed by the United States over every other nation, by reason of its agriculture, is thus manifest. It is to-day the only great industrial power which produces sufficient cereal food to maintain its labor and sell a surplus to foreigners. It is this that makes the United States so full of promise for the future development of its resources and of its power and influence in foreign markets.

Another point cannot be too strongly urged, that the commercial power of the United States in foreign markets is due to the fact that its high-priced labor produces a lower priced article of equal or better quality than could be obtained elsewhere. After passing through spasms of apprehension through the competition of Europe, British India, and Asia in wheat and cotton, the American producers awake to the fact that there has not only been no diminution of market for his products, but his rivals

* From November 1 to November 10 exporters purchased at New York 5,730,000 bushels of wheat and 5,451,000 bushels of corn for export. Mr C. A. Pillsbury estimates that by November 1 the farmers had marketed 62 per cent. of their crop of wheat.

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have been beaten in the face of being favored by low-priced goods and propinquity to market. Indian raw cotton came to Manchester and was offered at a fraction less per pound than the American, a fraction large enough to have made it an object to the manufacturer to take the Indian fibre. But this was not the result, and the Indian cotton was driven to the continent of Europe, where the manufacturers were less fastidious in their choice; and it is now being driven out of Europe by the American cotton, though there is still a difference in price in favor of the Asiatic product. Quality has conquered, and in point of quality and price the cotton raiser of the United States controls the markets.

It was much the same in petroleum. For many years the United States held a natural monopoly in the supply of this important oil. An immense export trade was fed by the products of the oil wells, and seemed to be limited only by the ability of the oil-fields to yield. Russia entered the markets with the Baku oil, and, favored by discriminating duties on imports, or by nearness of markets, succeeded in crowding out the American oil from many countries. Later the Sumatran, or Langkat, oil came forward, and has still further restricted the sale of the American oil, and in some parts of China even of the Russian oil. Yet the exports of both crude and refined oil from the United States were larger in 1897 than in any previous year of its commercial experience. What a per capita comparison would not develop is the fact that every additional gallon of export has been made in spite of a severe and constantly increasing competition from other countries; and further, a competition that has been so effectual in certain regions as to have changed the direction of the exports from the United States. The interest attaching to a rise in the exports from this country of crude mineral oil from 76,000,000 gallons in 1887 to 131,726,000 gallons in 1897, and of refined or illuminating oil, from 480,800,000 gallons in 1887 to 772,000,000 gallons in 1897, does not rest in the mere weight of figures, but in the conquest of difficulties arising from distance, discriminating duties, and cheapness of a competing article. The export to Asia, where this competition has been most severe, was 99,578,000 gallons in 1887, and 174,000,000 gallons in 1897. That increase really speaks more for commercial power in this article than do the 258,000,000

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gallons which were gained in the same period in the exports to Europe. Against this gain may be placed the fact that Russian oil has now permanently gained the lead in the Indian market, being imported in bulk, while the American oil is imported exclusively in cans.

Nor is this prime factor of low labor cost confined to crude materials. The export of manufactured articles bears testimony to the increasing ability of the American product to meet competitors in foreign markets. In 1890 the value of manufactures of iron and steel exported first touched $25,000,000; in 1897 the exports were $57,497,000, of which more than one-half was in machinery. Before 1890 a total export of the articles classed in the trade returns as manufactures never touched $150,000,000. In 1897 this total was more than $276,000,000. Large as were the exports of these manufactures in 1897, they will show a good further increase in 1898. In the three months of the fiscal year 1898 already passed they show an increase of $5,000,000 on the returns for the corresponding period of 1897.

Another fair test of economic progress is to be found in the introduction of new methods or appliances for utilizing waste or by-products. Here the per capita gauge would be out of place, for an enormous trade is often built up in a few years by such discovery or applications. Before 1871 cottonseed oil was of so little importance in the foreign trade of the United States as to be unenumerated among the exports. It required twenty years to give an export of more than 6,400,000 gallons in a year, but after 1890 the movement became very heavy, and in 1897 amounted to nearly 27,200,000 gallons. The meal, or what remains of the cotton seed after the hull has been removed and the oil pressed out, has become an even larger item of export, and with the meal of flaxseed gave an export of more than a billion pounds in 1897—a figure surpassed only by the weight of cotton and flour sent to foreign countries. If a comparison of the exports per capita in 1867 and 1897 were to be made it would not begin to express so much commercial progress and command of a market as is implied in the mere announcement of so extensive a utilization of what was regarded as a waste product, fit only to be used as a fertilizer.

Sweden in a few years has almost ceased to import sugar, raw or refined, although five years ago her population depended upon

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foreign supplies. By imposing a high customs duty on foreign sugars a domestic beet sugar interest has been built up sufficient to supply the home market, and, it is believed, will soon be sufficient to afford a surplus for export. The commercial returns, showing a large annual decrease in the importation of sugar, and no exportation, would be interpreted by our cut and dried statistician as an indication of trade weakness; by the protectionist as an element of strength, making Sweden more independent of foreign markets; by the free trader as a wrong policy, in that the consumer must pay more for supporting a home industry than he need pay for importing from the excessive supplies thrown upon the market by Germany. This difference in opinion is irreconcilable, and least of all by compiling per capita imports or exports. But in the case of wood pulp the situation is different. In 1884 Sweden exported 23,400,000 pounds of wood pulp; in 1894 the exports were more than 220,000,000 pounds, an increase of nearly tenfold in ten years. Every reader of this would at once see that there is no room for questioning the advantage to Sweden of this export. It is a splendid development of a domestic industry that has created without the aid of government a great market for its products, and means industrial as well as commercial power, founded upon natural laws of trade. The utility of wood pulp in the manufacture of paper has become recognized. The pulp is a uniform and cleanly article, and more easily handled than rags, esparto or similar raw materials more difficult to manipulate. It is in such conquests that the United States proves its expanding strength in competition.

Germany is continually cited as a remarkable example of a modern progressive nation. Almost within the present generation it has grown from a number of lesser principalities into an empire, still far from homogeneous or of single purpose. From a collection of separate states and free cities, independent rivals in commerce and industry, it has become a great industrial nation, an aggressive and successful competitor for neutral markets, and the would-be possessor of colonies into which a part of the teeming production of soil and factory, and a part of the redundant population of the fatherland, may be poured with profit. The emigrant to these colonies is regarded in the light of the colonist of the eighteenth century. He relieves the pressure of competition at home; he becomes a planter to raise

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the raw materials for the home factory; and he is to be a consumer of the finished products sent out from Germany. The theory of this colonial enterprise is perfect; the circle of production, manufacture, and consumption is complete, so far as the home interests are concerned. With principalities in Africa, the home of a future and greater Germany, there is hardly an argument to be urged against the beautiful scheme for a general, but always German, prosperity. The activity proved by the protective, commercial and colonial system has raised German influence until it is the arbiter of European policy, and is as active among its colonial neighbors as it is at home.

Tested by results this scheme proves to be little worthy of imitation. It is only on the colonial side that it need be examined to measure its success or failure. In 1896 the total value of the trade between the Empire and its African colonies was $2,837,000, and the cost of maintaining the administration of these colonies will be about $2,010,000. The exports from Germany exceeded the imports from the colonies by $534,500. The white population was about 3,600, of whom 1,350 were officials and soldiers, and 1,778 other than Germans. This is in a colony where the late Governor, who has had sixteen years of African experience, declared there was not "a foot of East Africa which could be regarded as healthy." In fact the Germans go elsewhere and in such numbers as to awaken a desire on the part of home authorities to more immediately direct the stream into German territory. At present only a very small part of the emigration from Germany finds a settlement in the national colonies, for labor is much needed to realize any of the possibilities of these possessions. Few of the native tribes are capable of continuous and intelligently applied labor, and Europeans are soon used up by climate and disease. So long as the exports were confined to ivory, rubber and palm and cocoanuts, the Africans sufficed; but with the introduction of the cultivation of coffee, cocoa, tobacco, and rubber tree, some substitute must be found, and Chinese and Japanese are already an article of demand.

On what different lines has been the growth of the United States! Its western territory furnished a colonial empire of vast extent and rich possibilities. Labor came in vast quantities, tempted by the promise of cheap and fertile lands, a freedom from feudal survivals, and bringing the habits and skill, together

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with not a little prejudice, fostered under its former conditions. An ever increasing market developed industry, and so great was the premium offered to agriculture and manufactures that sea-power was neglected. At peace with its neighbors, a foreign trade has been gradually built up, and in spite of would-be political connections, there exists no entangling alliances. At home there has been enough to keep labor and capital employed, and the colonies have gradually been absorbed as States into our political system.

The United States is comparatively rich because of its immense natural resources, and because it has not had a severe and wasting drain upon its abundance and energies for outside objects. Its capital and labor have been applied to its great natural advantages and foreign capital has been borrowed in immense sums to hasten forward the development of these resources. There are no distant principalities to govern, save Alaska, and no region where the possibility of a contest with another power calls for the maintenance of expensive armanents to secure unremunerative markets under a plea of colonial enterprise. This position is not measurable in statistics, and no combination of its material facts can make it clear. It is only in studying the situation in its relation to other countries that its true meaning is demonstrated.

WORTHINGTON C. FORD.

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THE FARCE OF THE CHINESE EXCLUSION LAWS.

BY J. THOMAS SCHARF, LL.D., LATE UNITED STATES CHINESE INSPECTOR AT THE PORT OF NEW YORK.

"Which I wish to remark,—
And my language is plain,—
That for ways that are dark
And for tricks that are vain
The heathen Chinee is peculiar."

THE history of Chinese immigration in the United States is a somewhat peculiar one. It began as early as 1786, when our ships first visited China, but it was slow until the news of the discovery of gold in fabulous quantities in California reached China. Before 1852 the Chinese immigration into the port of San Francisco amounted to about 10,000, but in that year 20,026 arrived. There being no prejudice or hostility to them, they were welcomed as a unique addition to the society and a valuable ally in the development of the material resources of their new home. Governor John McDougall, in his message to the California Legislature of that year, referred to the Chinese as the "most desirable of our adopted citizens." In 1853 only 4,270 arrived at San Francisco, followed in 1854 by 16,084 more. This sudden invasion of more than 40,000 strange people in three years caused much dissatisfaction among the laborers of California, who could not compete with the Chinese in the mines, and an effort was made in the legislature to impose a head "tax on all aliens working mining claims." There being no provision in the Cushing treaty of 1844, nor the Reed treaty of 1858, that the Chinese should not come to this country, they continued to arrive at San Francisco. The statistics of Chinese immigration into that port from 1854 to the Burlingame treaty of 1869 were as follows: 1855, 3,329; 1856, 4,807; 1857, 5,924; 1858, 5,427; 1859, 3,175; 1860, 7,341; 1861, 843; 1862, 8,175; 1863, 6,432;

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1864, 2,682; 1865, 3,095; 1866, 2,242; 1867, 4,290; 1868, 11,081; 1869, 14,990; making a total to the last date of 141,800.

Notwithstanding this large influx of Chinese, the Legislature of California, as late as March 11, 1862, through a joint select committee, made an elaborate report, congratulating the State upon the presence of the Chinese, urging the adoption of measures to secure as permanent citizens those already there, and offering inducements to others to come. When this report was made the Chinese population in the State was estimated at about 35,000. In a few months after this report was made the favorable judgment expressed by it was entirely reversed, and the Chinese, by reason of their sordid, selfish, immoral, and non-amalgamating habits, came to be regarded as a standing menace to the institutions of the State. Governor Leland Stanford, in his Message to the California Legislature in 1862, said :

"To my mind, it is clear that the settlement among us of an inferior race is to be discouraged by every legitimate means. Asia, with her numberless millions, sends to our shores the dregs of her population. Large numbers of this class are already here, and unless we do something to check their immigration the question which of the two tides of immigration meeting upon the shores of the Pacific shall be turned back will be forced upon our consideration when far more difficult than now of disposal. There can be no doubt but that the presence of numbers among us of a degraded and distinct people must exercise a deleterious influence upon the superior race, and to a certain extent repel desirable immigration. It will afford me great pleasure to concur with the Legislature in any constitutional action having for its object the repression of the immigration of the Asiatic races."

This was the first official utterance from any public man anywhere in favor of Chinese exclusion, and in a short time it became a national question.

The Burlingame treaty was ratified at Peking November 23, 1869, and the fifth and sixth sections related to the right of the citizens of one country to voluntarily migrate to the other country for the purpose of curiosity, trade, or permanent residence. After providing for the citizens of the United States visiting and residing in China, as in the other treaties, the Chinese came on and for the first time said in this treaty: "And reciprocally, Chinese subjects visiting or residing in the United States shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions in respect to travel or residence as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation."

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It was against what was then known as coolie labor that the Burlingame treaty directed its prohibition, which the act of Congress of 1862 had failed to prohibit between China and the United States. The declaration concerning voluntary immigration was unfortunate in tying the hands of our Government so that it could not freely legislate against an invasion coming under the guise of a voluntary immigration, but the treaty did not provide for or encourage such immigration. There was, on the contrary, a significant provision against naturalization, which indicated that there was to be a line drawn somewhere between the people of China and the people of the United States.

The ratification of this treaty, as we have seen, caused a marked increase in the arrival of Chinese into this country. The evil results of the presence of this great horde in San Francisco, which had already an immense Chinese population, were most conspicuous, and subsequently throughout the whole State the hostility to the Chinese became so great as to threaten constantly a breach of the peace. The public press was almost unanimous in its condemnation.

Enthusiastic public meetings were held, presided over by representative men of the State. Anti-Chinese societies were formed and a war of races seemed imminent. The municipal and State authorities, responding to the overwhelming sentiment, endeavored to remedy the evil by ordinance and legislative enactments. Among these may be recalled the "queue ordinance," the "capitation tax," the "basket-ordinance," the "landing tax," the "cubic air law," all of which were aimed at the Chinese, and all of which were finally adjudged to be unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States. The hope of reaching and remedying the evil by State or municipal legislation was finally and utterly overthrown by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Chy Lung, plaintiff in error, *vs.* Commissioner of Immigration of California *et al,* which went to the length of deciding that the State of California had no power to prohibit the landing of passengers of any kind whatever, not even when known to be immoral, criminal, or vagrants.

Every other means of relief proving ineffectual, the people of the Pacific Coast determined to appeal to Congress. Accordingly, as early as December 22, 1869, at the second session of the Forty-first Congress, an effort was made, but without success, to

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secure restrictive legislation. In the Forty-second and also in the Forty-third and Forty-fourth Congresses numerous memorials, resolutions of public meetings, and petitions, one of which numbered over 16,000 signatures, were presented to the same effect and with the same results. In the meanwhile the question had assumed dangerous proportions. Chinese immigration was at its flood: the arrivals in 1870 being 15,740; in 1871, 7,135; in 1872, 9,788; 1873, 23,292; 1874, 16,085; 1875, 18,021; 1876, 22,781; 1877, 10,594; 1878, 8,992; 1879, 9,604; and to November 17, 1880, when a new treaty was concluded between China and the United States.

In the meantime the people of the Pacific Coast had become indignant because the American Congress was not following the path that had already been trodden by France, by England, and by every country in the world that had ever suffered the disadvantages, the horrors, and the burdens of Chinese immigration. As far back as 1855 the English colony of Victoria levied a capitation tax of $50 upon every Chinese immigrant. In 1861 a similar tax was imposed by the colony of New South Wales, and in 1877 by the colony of Queensland, and also by the French colony of Saigon. The same opposition had been aroused in Java, in Siam, in Singapore, in the Philippine Islands, and in the Australian colonies. Everywhere the Chinese have made themselves obnoxious; everywhere heavy penalties and restrictive legislation have been found a necessary means of protection.

In 1876 Congress sent a committee to the Pacific coast, headed by ex-Governor Morton, of Indiana, for the purpose of ascertaining the actual condition of affairs, and in their report they said they believed that "the influx of Chinese is a standing menace to republican institutions upon the Pacific, and the existence there of Christian civilization," and demanded relief from the "terrible scourge" by prompt restrictive legislation on the part of Congress, whether approved by the Chinese government or not. When this report was submitted to Congress, the counsel of the Chinese Six Companies and the counsel of the railway and steamship corporations who had represented the Chinese before the committee, attempted to raise false issues and to create an impression that the committee was not in sympathy with the masses of the people. When the citizens of the Pacific coast saw that their views had been misrepresented, they undertook in the

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most solemn form in which the people of the Pacific coast could do so to speak to the American people by a resort to the ballot. The Legislature of California in 1878 provided for a vote of the people upon the question of Chinese immigration (so-called) to be had at the general election of 1879. The vote was legally taken, without excitement, and the response was general. When the ballots were counted, there were found to be 883 votes for Chinese immigration and 154,638 against it, an anti-Chinese majority of 153,755. A similar vote was taken in Nevada and resulted as follows: 183 votes for Chinese immigration and 17,259 votes against it. For nearly thirty years this people had witnessed the effects of Chinese immigration. For more than a quarter of a century these voters had met face to face, considered, weighed, and discussed the great question upon which they were at last called upon in the most solemn and deliberate manner to express an opinion, and their extraordinary vote was a conclusive argument in favor of Chinese restriction. Recognizing the exigency of the occasion, the Legislature of California, on the 13th of August, 1877, also presented an "Address to the people of the United States," and a memorial to Congress based upon the testimony of witnesses acquainted with the subject, which ably and graphically set forth the objections to the Chinese.

In the meantime the agitation of the question had extended to the Eastern States, who responded to the Pacific slope. The introduction of a number of Chinese to fill the places of striking Crispins at North Adams, Mass., created the most intense excitement. Monster meetings of workingmen were held at North Adams, throughout the State, and in all the leading cities of the Eastern slope. The press and forum were ablaze with defences and denunciations of the Chinese. The war of races for the time was transferred from the West to the East; "passion and prejudice" ruled the hour. The Labor Reform party in convention at Worcester, Mass., on September 8, 1870, resolved that they were "inflexibly opposed to the importation by capitalists of laborers from China and elsewhere for the purpose of degrading and cheapening American labor, and will resist by all legal and constitutional means in our power." The Democratic party at Fitchburg, Mass., on the 12th of October following, adopted a similar resolution. Hon. Henry Wilson, then U. S. Senator from Massachusetts, and afterwards Vice-Presi-

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dent, Wendell Phillips, John Quincy Adams, Presidents Grant and Garfield and others made an emphatic stand against Chinese immigration. In 1876 the Republican and Democratic National platforms took strong ground against the Chinese, and these formal declarations were discussed and approved by all parties at every political gathering in the country for several years.

Finally ministers plenipotentiary were appointed, by whom, on the 17th of November, 1880, a treaty was concluded between China and the United States. The first article of that treaty expressly declares the right of the United States "to regulate, limit, or suspend the coming or residence of Chinese laborers." This stipulation was considered a great concession on the part of China, but those who are familiar with Chinese affairs know that there never has been a time when China would not prefer absolute restriction to the slightest form of contingent emigration to the United States. It is in our own hands. There can be no measure of restriction too comprehensive for China. And Mr. John Russell Young, ex-Minister to China, says that this observation might be made complete "by saying that, if a treaty of restriction would return every Chinaman to his own country, and send every alien out of China, it would be hailed with joy throughout the Celestial Empire." Chinese laborers are prevented by the Chinese government from emigrating to the United States from a Chinese port. All Chinese emigrants bound for the United States sail from Hong Kong, a British colony separated from China by a narrow strait. China has no more to do with Hong Kong than with Liverpool or New York. The immigrants mostly sail in British ships and for British gain, and as the traffic has paid well, those who control it oppose Chinese exclusion in the United States. The clamor that reaches the United States in regard to Chinese emigration; the ingeniously continued articles in foreign newspapers; cable despatches expressing the indignation of Li Hung Chang, the indignation meetings in Canton, emotion among the Chinese as to their exclusion from America; the vaporings of paid lobbyists in the halls of Congress and elsewhere; all this literature of invective and remonstrance comes mainly from English sources, railroad and steamship corporations, comes as an expression of disappointment at the threatened suppression of a valuable trade. This is the very root of this vexed question.

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No action was taken toward the execution of the treaty of 1880 until May 6, 1882, when a law was enacted by Congress suspending Chinese immigration for a period of ten years, afterward extended to twenty. It went into effect August 5th of the same year. This law not proving effective, it was followed by the laws of July 5, 1884, October 1, 1888, the "Geary Law" of May 5, 1892, the act of November 3, 1893, the act of August 18, 1894, and the treaty of December 7, 1894.

All of these measures sought to execute the will of the people of the United States to exclude Chinese laborers. For a time, each act in turn had been deemed effective, but the immigration has continued in spite of legislation forbidding it. During the period of nearly two years, between the date of the treaty of 1880 and the law of Congress of 1882, the Chinese poured into the country from every direction. The steamships from Hong Kong were crowded to their utmost capacity by an eager mob hurrying to get into the United States before the gates should be closed against them. Over six thousand were admitted at San Francisco in two months, and the arrivals in 1881, 1882, and 1883, the three years following the treaty, were 59,500, being an annual average of 19,833, or more than double the former average.

This was one of the unfortunate results of the effort to secure an exclusion that did not at once exclude, and for the time being the purpose of the treaty was not only defeated, but its negotiation caused a large increase in Chinese immigration. This rapid increase being brought to the attention of Congress, the act of 1884 was passed, and during the next year 9,049 were admitted at San Francisco, as against 6,602 in 1884. This large increase proved that restrictive legislation did not restrict, but rather, under its operations, the number of Chinese in the country were being augmented. The press of San Francisco denounced the workings of the law in the severest terms. The people of the Pacific coast were indignant. It was plain to be seen that the Chinese were coming into the country in utter defiance of the restriction acts. They came into San Francisco on false testimony as to prior residence. They came into the country across the frontier without any evidence of a right to come. The people became exasperated over the condition of affairs and in some instances resorted to effective exclusion measures. In Washington

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Territory, where the invasion across the Canada border could be seen and understood, the people rose in self-defence and ordered the invaders out of the country. On September 5, 1885, the unfortunate collision occurred at Rock Springs, Wyoming, for which Congress afterward voted an indemnity of $147,000. The situation was serious and required immediate action, but nothing was done to repair the leak until the passage of the act of 1888. As this law did not suppress the evil, the acts of 1892, 1893, and 1894 followed. In the meantime the Asiatic tramps were forcing their way through the western gate of the country in greater numbers than ever, contrary to the spirit and purposes of our laws. In 1886, 6,714 were admitted into San Francisco, followed in 1887 by 11,572 more, or nearly 3,000 more than the yearly average arrivals before the treaty of 1880. Since the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railroad along the entire distance of our northern frontier, the facilities for celerity of invasion have been vastly multiplied, and this company, with its subsidized line of British steamers running between its western terminus at Vancouver, in British Columbia, to Hong Kong, brings into the United States from three to five thousand Chinese immigrants every year. Two other lines of steamships run between Hong Kong and San Francisco, while another line has a terminus at Seattle, and another runs to Tacoma. All of these steamship lines are largely engaged in carrying Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong to the United States and British Columbia, running steamers about every three weeks, and bringing over from one hundred to seven hundred Chinese persons on each trip

The head tax of $50 per capita imposed by the Canadian provinces is no real impediment or restriction in the way of Chinese destined to the United States *via* Canada. To secure this traffic the Canadian Pacific Railroad Company gives bonds to the Canadian government to pay this amount if the Chinese have not departed out of Canada in ninety days, and its agents, officers, and employees are instructed to send the Chinese as soon as possible into the United States, anywhere along our 3,740 miles of border. As a consequence, like water from a sieve, the Chinese are showered upon us from every conceivable point on Puget Sound, and all along the line from Victoria to Halifax. So with reference to the Mexican border. They cross the 1,540 miles of our

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Southern boundary line without detection into the United States. Between this country and Canada there are about twenty-five railroads crossing from one country into the other, and between this country and Mexico there are about five railroads crossing the line, making about thirty railroads that cross our boundary. These lines of railroad, and steamship lines running into New Orleans, Tampa, Key West, New York, and other ports, from Cuba, Mexico, and Hong Kong, furnish ample facilities for these people to come from one side of the line or the other.

The records of the Treasury Department show that many Chinese laborers have been landed in the United States on the claim of being in transit who have not taken their departure, or if they have, their identity has been so completely lost that, with an eye to profit, they have been able to carry off return papers for sale or future use. In many instances Chinese in transit have remained here by substituting others in their places. Again the papers of nearly all returning alleged merchants are fraudulent, and their witnesses in many cases are professional perjurers. Another mode of securing admission is for "sons" to claim birth in San Francisco, and prove it by the testimony of alleged "fathers" who perjure themselves for a consideration.

From the passage of the first Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 to the present time, there have been in the matter of hearings on *habeas corpus* in Chinese cases serious and radical conflicts of opinion between the judges of the Federal courts and the executive officers of the government, which have been the cause of a great many admissions. The very fact of the existence of such a wide difference of opinion as to the construction and administration of existing law is the most effective argument that could possibly be adduced to show the imbecility of the Chinese Exclusion Acts, and of the absolute impotency of such measures to meet and cope in an efficient and effective manner with this great evil. Then the careless and absolutely inefficient manner in which the question of Chinese immigration has been treated by Congress has been the cause of the admission of thousands. This is clearly demonstrated by the admission of 502 Chinese persons for the Chicago World's Exposition, 350 for the San Francisco Mid-Winter Fair, 206 for the Atlanta Exposition, and about 600 for the Nashville Exposition under joint resolutions of Congress permitting alien laborers to be imported in connection with the

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foreign exhibits. All of the above 1,656 Chinese laborers obtained admission into the United States by the payment of about $225 each to the holders of the concession for Chinese exhibits at the above expositions. In most cases the women who were brought in at the same time were sold in San Francisco for immoral purposes.

The official statistics of the government purporting to show the yearly admission of Chinese into the United States in no way approximate the truth. They fall far short of the actual facts and cannot be relied on. For example, they do not include the 16,000 who crossed the boundary into the United States after their discharge upon the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railroad. In these figures no account whatever is taken of the thousands that have been smuggled across the waters of Puget Sound and along the Canadian boundary line, nor the carloads passed in over the Mexican border. No account has been taken of the vessel loads of Chinese smuggled into the country along the Gulf coast. And still another fact must be taken into account, and that is that vessels on the route between San Francisco and Chinese ports are as a rule manned by Chinese crews, many of whom are constantly deserting and remaining in this country. No account has been taken of the 1,500 alleged merchants landed at Portland, Ore., by a corrupt collector of customs at $50 per head; nor the hundreds who were admitted into Idaho and Montana upon forged certificates with counterfeit seals attached.

The census returns of the number of Chinese in the United States are equally defective. The census of 1860 placed it at 34,933, 1870 at 63,199, 1880 at 105,465, and 1890 at 107,475. Any one familiar with the Chinese understands the improbability of obtaining exact statistics concerning them. The Chinese Six Companies have always endeavored to prove as small a number of Chinese in this country as possible, and it is well known that when the census takers were taking the census the Chinese avoided them. As evidence of the unreliability of the census, in 1869 H. C. Bennett, Secretary of the San Francisco Chinese Protective Society, with the aid of the Chinese Six Companies, made a careful estimate of the number of Chinese in the United States, and gave 90,000 as the number. One year later the census only gave 63,199. The testimony of

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Hon. F. A. Bee, the Chinese Consul at San Francisco, ought to have weight on this question. He was reported in a San Francisco journal in 1888 as having testified in a Chinese investigation in that city that "within the last six months more Chinese women had arrived, and been landed by the courts as previous residents, than ever departed between 1849 and 1887," and, furthermore, "that all the women brought into this country were brought here for immoral purposes."

The folly and inefficiency of the restriction acts are further demonstrated by Special Treasury Employee T. Aubrey Byrne, in his report to the Secretary of the Treasury, dated March 29, 1897. He says: "Of the total admissions of Chinese into the United States during the fiscal year 1896, over 35 per cent. were effected through the Vermont district. The Chinese inhabitants in Boston in 1895, compared with 1885, show an increase of 192 per cent. In the State of Massachusetts the increase in 1895 over the number in 1885 is shown to be 273 per cent. It must be borne in mind that the majority of the Chinese entering Massachusetts through the Vermont district do not remain in this State, but pass into other States to take up their laundry work. For arrival of Chinese laborers in this special agency district 1896 was the banner year, and, judging from the inflow during the first two months of 1897, it is quite probable that the current year (1897) will outrank any preceding twelve months."

Taking the Custom House record of Chinese coming into the United States through the district of Vermont from June 1, 1895, to February 23, 1897, and adding to them 581 alleged boys, etc., who were admitted into the country by the United States Commissioner at St. Albans, Mr. Byrne shows that the total admissions for the period in Vermont stood 2,947, or more than were admitted into the remainder of the United States.

In the State of New York the census of 1890 gave 2,935 Chinese. At the time of the passage of the Geary Act of May 5, 1892, requiring all Chinese laborers to register, Internal Revenue Collector Keriom of the Southern District of New York made a canvass of the Chinese in his district and found that there were only 500 Chinese who would have to register. When the amended act was approved November 3, 1893, and before the Chinese registration began, the collector made another canvass and, much to his astonishment, found 1,200 Chinese. When the

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registration was completed it was found that over seven thousand had registered in New York City. According to the best estimates there are to-day (1897) all told in New York and Brooklyn and within a radius of ten miles about 12,000 Chinese. There are, it is believed, notwithstanding reports to the contrary, as many as 700,000 Chinese, perhaps more, in the United States. It is estimated that there are as many as 150,000 in California, 20,000 in Oregon, 10,000 in the State of Washington, 10,000 in Montana and Idaho, 4,000 in Nevada, 3,000 in Arizona, 3,000 in Colorado, 3,000 in Wyoming and Utah, to say nothing of those scattered over all portions of the country. Gradually, and almost imperceptibly, like the coming of a cold wave or the rising of the tide, the "Little Brownies" have crossed the Great American Desert, the Rocky Mountains, the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers, and the Alleghany Mountains, and to-day there is scarcely a city, town, or hamlet, either large or small, not excepting the capital of the nation, in which there are not more or less, and in many of them a very considerable number of Chinese persons.

That the present Chinese restriction acts, as at present administered, are worse than a pretence is conceded by all familiar with their operations. Judge Hagar, while Collector of the Port of San Francisco, a few years ago, stated "that the restriction act, as now administered, is an utter failure," which assertion has been verified in a thousand ways in the past few years. John H. Senter, U. S. Attorney in the Vermont District, on December 30, 1896, said that in his district the Chinese "hearings are in a certain sense farcical," and Leigh Chalmers, Examiner of the Attorney-General's office, in a report dated July 1, 1896, said "that nine out of ten of these (Chinese) cases do not amount to the dignity of a farce," and that "the U. S. Attorney and Commissioner both agree to this conclusion, but say there is no remedy." Wm. A. Poucher, U. S. Attorney at Buffalo, in a letter to the U. S. Attorney-General, dated April 30, 1897, said that his assistant had "attended examinations at Malone and at Plattsburg, . . . and has reported that it was absolutely useless, under the present condition of affairs, to attend any further examinations, as it was a waste of time and money," and that he was "powerless."

These law officers of the government are charged with the enforcement of the exclusion laws, but they practically admit that

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owing to the loose interpretation of the laws by sympathetic U. S. Commissioners, and the radical diversity of opinion between the judges of the Federal Courts, the crafty practices and fraudulent devices of the Mongolians themselves, the ready aid of well-paid allies on the border line, perjured witnesses, and the oath-breaking and bribe-taking public officials, the exclusion laws have become more honored in the breach than in the observance. From Tampa Bay at one corner, from Puget Sound at the other, from El Paso at the south, from San Francisco at the west, to New York at the east, to the Vermont, New York, New Hampshire, and Maine line on the north comes the same narrative of betrayed trusts on the part of debauched customs and judicial officials, and of hordes of these barred and branded Mongolians pouring into the United States, each with his bribe-money in one hand, his fraudulent papers in the other, and perjury on his lips. With several years' experience in attempting to enforce this supreme law of the land, our faith in effective legislation upon this subject is much impaired. Laws deemed apparently faultless have proven but legislative makeshifts. They do not meet the evil, but rather aggravate it by offering opportunities for their evasion through perjury, chicanery, and frauds. The entire customs service of the country, the Federal judiciary, and those appointed specially to enforce these laws, all admit that the Chinese Exclusion Act is a pretence and fraud in that it assumes to be legislation in pursuance of treaty stipulations, when in fact it is in violation of them; that it pretends to correct the evil complained of by offering opportunities for its evasion through the crafty practices, fraudulent devices, and bold perjury of the criminal Chinese; that it has opened a door to the perjurer, who is too ready to swear himself within the pale of our laws, and thus whole legions of these people are flocking to the United States who are not entitled to come. Thus with every precaution under existing laws, and in the face of every effort, we have failed so far to arrest the incursions already effected over the border lines of the neighboring territory; as we have seen, well-known routes are established by trails and by water ways, along which they come. When once here they mingle and merge with and become an unrecognizable portion of the "former residents."

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CONDITIONS GOVERNING TORPEDO-BOAT DESIGN.

BY LIEUTENANT R. C. SMITH, U. S. N.

It now seems to be a settled part of our policy to add largely to the number of our torpedo-boats. A recent article in the REVIEW described the steps hitherto taken to this end. The present writer submitted to the Naval Institute a study of the questions controlling future design, and from the character of the criticisms it is fair to assume that the ideas were generally accepted by the service as reasonable.

I propose to review now these governing considerations, which are really of a character to be easily intelligible to persons other than those who make a technical study of the subject.

Our guide at the start is the uses and limitations of torpedo-boats. These are best understood by a careful survey of foreign practice and opinion, based on the growth of a quarter of a century. The results only can be given here.

The prime end of a torpedo-boat is to attack and sink the enemy's ships, the secondary object to ward off the attacks of the enemy's boats. The weapon for the one use is the torpedo, for the other the gun and the ram. Can these two uses be reconciled in a single type of boat, adapted either for cruising with the fleet or operating independently along the coast, or for hurried raids from protected harbors? Or do we need several distinct types? Or can a boat of any size or type be used advantageously for all the duties?

In the attack on ships it is admitted without reserve that a total or partial surprise is the main element of success. In the absence of this feature the boats would be utterly destroyed by gun fire before they reached torpedo range. Hence attacks will almost invariably be made under cover of darkness or mist.

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The boat, therefore, should be small to be as little visible and to present as small a target as possible, and should have a high speed to get quickly into action and quickly out. The main weapon is the torpedo, and there should be as many launching tubes as the size of the boat will permit. No guns are required for use against the ship; and were it not that the attacking boat might be headed off and put out of action by boats of her own kind or smaller, but carrying a battery of guns, there would be no necessity for any other weapon but the torpedo. In view, however, of the above possibility she must carry as many and as good guns as are usually to be found in the boats of the same size abroad.

For the second use, warding off the attacks of other boats, more and heavier guns and a higher speed are required. Other things being equal, this in itself points to an increased size of boat. Add to this that boats of this character should be capable of keeping the sea with the fleet in all weathers and to that end should carry more coal and stores, and also that they should afford a fair degree of comfort and habitability to their crews, and the necessity for greater displacement is manifest. The feature of invisibility must unfortunately be sacrificed to the extent demanded by these paramount requirements. Withal there will be occasions when surprises can be made, and in the melee of battle when torpedos can be used with effect; and for such uses launching tubes are provided, though there are not so many in proportion as in the torpedo-boat proper, where the torpedo and not the gun predominates.

The bows of all these boats can be so strengthened at the expense of a very moderate weight as to make them capable of cutting into the side of any similar boat or running through a smaller picket launch without material injury to themselves. Without seeking such occasions, which would involve many failures and consequent loss of time, it is very desirable to take advantage of them when they offer; as the enemy if struck would be quickly and effectually disposed of. In the navigation of our more northerly inland waters in the winter season, boats with bows so strengthened could safely cut through several inches of ice, a feature of decided possible value in time of war. The "Cushing's" bow has been provided with an interior fitting of this nature which has already demonstrated its usefulness by carrying

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the boat totally unharmed through ice that would otherwise have crushed her bow plates out of shape.

The two uses enumerated have practically determined two types of boat, the torpedo-boat proper and the torpedo-boat destroyer, or briefly, torpedo-boats and destroyers, which terms are used hereafter in this special sense.

By limiting the torpedo-boat to operations from a shore base its size can be kept within reasonable requirements as to invisibility and inconsiderable extent of target. This is apparent when account is taken of the saving in weight effected by omitting the special features constituting a high-sea boat. These are coal endurance, seaworthiness, stowage space, habitability. The smaller boat must, however, sacrifice speed to a certain extent to be able to carry her torpedo and battery weights. The reason is that, to obtain a very high speed in a small boat, nearly all her carrying capacity must be given up to machinery and coal.

Here, then, must be studied the value of the required features, and a compromise effected that will give the best result as a whole. There is, of course, great latitude for individual opinion. The only logical way to approach the subject is to take up each feature in succession and fix for it two limits, the higher one such as to offer no inducement to pass beyond it, the lower one such that if not attained the whole object of the boat is defeated.

The features and qualities to be striven for are speed, invisibility, seaworthiness, carrying capacity for torpedoes and guns, coal endurance, stowage capacity, habitability. Taking these up in order, and with regard first to the torpedo boat, what are the limits of speed that should be established? The object of speed in a torpedo boat is to pass quickly through zones of fire, to escape from destroyers, and to be able to strike suddenly and unexpectedly from a distance. Generally speaking it should be as high as is compatible with other requirements. Naturally it cannot be expected to equal that of the destroyers, except by an almost complete sacrifice of other essential features, such as endurance, or carrying capacity. Torpedo boats must gain the advantage of destroyers by numbers, and not by speed. Some must be sacrificed so that others may pass through.

But when it comes to the supreme effort of the torpedo-boat, the attack of the ship, is excessive speed after all the main requirement? It is such a fashion to make speed the sole criterion

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of excellence in this craft, that a suggestion of anything else is almost startling. Newspaper publicity and the rivalry of builders are responsible for the fashion. Besides, speed appeals to the public, and it is something tangible to offer for comparison.

It has been mentioned that the attack should be made under cover of darkness or mist, and must be in a measure a surprise. Consequently the boats in approaching will avoid anything like noise or commotion or any visible display that might indicate their presence. At any excessive speed the rush of water is audible at a considerable distance under favorable circumstances. There is usually a white crested bow wave and always a white streak of disturbed water in the wake. Then as the fires are forced there will be tongues of flame at the funnels. These are evidently not favorable accompaniments for a surprise attack. The alternative is to proceed at a moderate speed. In the "Cushing" with a maximum speed of 24 knots it was found that it was not advisable greatly to exceed 12 at this stage of the attack.

Now, as the result of many exercises at the Newport Torpedo Station, it appeared that the average distance at which the boat could be discovered with the aid of searchlights was 781 yards. These exercises were all held in good weather on nights of varying darkness, and under conditions generally favorable to the defence. The accepted torpedo range for a number of years has been 500 yards. Hits at this distance should be very probable, and especially now in view of recent improvements in torpedoes and in particular of the adoption of an automatic steering device which holds the torpedo very accurately to its course. When the boat is discovered concealment is at an end, and it is an object to dash in at top speed until the distance intervening from the point of discovery to the limit of torpedo range is passed. At 24 knots, now readily attained in torpedo boats, it would require 21 seconds to pass this interval of 281 yards (781 yards less 500 yards). Something would have to be added to this to allow for the time of working up to full speed after discovery. Now suppose that 30 knots was the maximum speed of the boat. It would mean reducing this interval by a fifth, or something over 4 seconds. But 30 knots in a small boat means the sacrifice of nearly everything else. Is it worth the price? It may be added that the length of time thought to be necessary to put a single boat out of action when in sight and beyond torpedo range

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has varied between 1 and 3 minutes as instanced by the rules in foreign naval manœuvres. In the English manœuvres of 1896 it was quoted as 2 minutes.

So much for the question of speed. As mentioned above, 24 knots can be readily obtained. When the other requirements are determined, if a higher speed can still be secured, then so much the better; otherwise, 24 knots will be sufficient.

Next as to invisibility. It is evident the smaller the boat, from this point of view, the better. This is the feature of those quoted that is opposed to all the rest. Speed, seaworthiness, capacity, endurance, and habitability all call for increased tonnage. Still, the quality of invisibility is of such vital importance that it is imperative to consider most carefully any feature that tends to impair it by increasing the size of the boat. It is known from our own experience that boats of about the size of our "Cushing" or "Ericsson" are very difficult to pick up at night when painted the dark olive color now adopted for torpedo-boats. This color, by the way, was developed as the result of several years' experience under the searchlight at Newport. Though called green it really has no green in it. It is made up of white, black, and yellow of proportions in the order given.

This size of boat, moreover, conforms to the latest practice abroad in torpedo-boats proper, and it is fair to assume that it is warranted by the experience of foreign nations. When it comes to the question of a larger size, it is a great temptation to say this will give us a little more speed or greater seaworthiness. That is true, but is the game worth the candle? The first idea occurring to any one who sees the new torpedo flotilla together is how very much more conspicuous than the "Cushing" and "Ericsson" are the later additions; and yet their topedo armaments are all the same. In a surprise attack on a hostile ship I should prefer the "Cushing" by all odds to any of them, notwithstanding that her maximum speed is three to five knots less than that of the others. Greater speed should mean greater powers of offence as well, and it will be seen that this points to a very much larger boat. There seems to be no reason whatever for adopting any intermediate sizes. Some of the features can be improved on, but to a point which gives no substantial gain, and at the sacrifice of the prime requisite for a surprise attack against ships, namely, invisibility.

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The other features may be discussed together. These boats are intended to operate along the coast, to be independent of the squadron and to return to port in bad weather or to replenish stores. For such purposes the "Ericsson" is perfectly seaworthy. She could stay out in weather in which a much larger boat could not handle her torpedoes. She carries three torpedo-tubes, which are ample, and she could carry heavier guns than her present 1-pounders, which an authority as great as M. Normand, in speaking of the French first-class boats, describes as an arm absolutely without value. Her coal endurance is ample, approximately a day at full speed or a week at economical steaming. Of stores of all descriptions she can carry enough to outlast her coal, and she is entirely habitable if advantage is taken of her return to port to assure her crew of a complete rest if they need it.

The question of guns for these boats deserves some further remarks. Their main object is for attacking or resisting boats of their own class. Four 3-pounders are the armament of some foreign boats, and it is higher than the average. The automatic 3-pounder seems to me the ideal gun for this purpose. The question of reliability, to be determined on trial, will affect the decision. This gun could also be used with effect against destroyers when hard pressed and might by a lucky shot bring the boat out safely. A torpedo boat engaged in an attack should pay no attention to picket-boats, except to run over them if they are in the course. By firing she attracts attention to herself from the ship, whereas if she keeps straight on she may still get within torpedo range before she is discovered.

There is, of course, the probability that we shall never be attacked on our own coast by torpedo boats proper, though it is possible that destroyers might be sent against us. It is, therefore, sometimes argued that as our torpedo boats cannot hope to contend with destroyers, it would be better to save the weight and not arm them with guns at all. But I think the better view is that they might, as above stated, save themselves by a lucky shot if they carried a few suitable guns, and they could then scarcely be boarded at anchor and captured by a boat expedition, which might conceivably happen if they carried no guns whatever. The small-calibre machine gun is sometimes advocated for these boats, with the idea of using it against the crews of picket or other smaller boats. But as stated above, it does not seem advisable to

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fire at all under these circumstances, and the machine gun would be of no use whatever against destroyers.

The destroyers are a type developed by the English and date from 1893. They are in appearance large torpedo boats, but they carry a much heavier gun armament. Their object is to keep the sea in all weathers with the fleet, and to overhaul and destroy torpedo boats. Secondarily, they are to attack ships when occasion favors, and to this end they carry a limited torpedo outfit. When the type first appeared it was contemplated to arm them with guns only. But as they would then have been harmless against ships, and would have no means of defence except their speed, it was decided to add a few torpedoes. The conditions imposed required a decided increase in displacement. Speed, endurance, and carrying capacity were to be enhanced. The feature of invisibility had to be sacrificed ; but as their main object was to ward off and destroy torpedo boats, this was not an insuperable objection.

The earliest of these boats, the "Havock" and the "Hornet," much resembled our "Porter" and "Dupont." They were 5 feet longer and of 40 tons more displacement. Since then the size has materially increased. The latest of them displace nearly 400 tons and the speed is to be 32 knots. The armament is two torpedo tubes for the long 18-inch Whitehead (16½ feet by 18 inches), one 12-pounder and five 6-pounder rapid fire guns.

We see at work in the development of the type the same influences that tended to produce larger and larger torpedo-boats with speeds higher than required and an area of target that at the sacrifice of invisibility almost defeated the object of their creation. This is due to the rivalry of builders, whose success is judged by speed alone. If this growth continues we shall have gunboats instead of destroyers, with a high speed it is true, but with a draught that precludes their following torpedo-boats into shoal waters, and of a size that puts their use as torpedo-boats almost out of the question. With us the requirements of canal navigation should effectually put a stop to this increase.

If the feature of invisibility is taken to limit the torpedo boat to about 120 tons, then all the requirements of the destroyer can be satisfied in a boat of less than 300 tons, and it would seem merely fatuous to pass beyond. Bearing this in mind our destroyers, if limited to a displacement of from 250 to 300 tons,

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will still stand a chance when used as torpedo boats proper, though evidently not the equal of the smaller craft for this purpose alone. Their displacement will warrant a speed higher than that of any torpedo-boat; they will be seaworthy, and habitable, and have a coal endurance and capacity enabling them to keep the sea at all times with the fleet. This is the limit of size for our coastwise canals.

Their torpedo armament can well be that of the smaller boats, *i. e.*, three tubes for the long 18-inch, and there will still be room for a formidable gun armament. If the 3-pounder is of sufficient power for the attack of a similar boat, why go to 6-pounders and 12-pounders as the English have done? I think in lieu of the one 12-pounder and five 6-pounders, that eight automatic 3-pounders would prove a more formidable battery and would have the advantage of a saving in weight. Nor are the advantages of a single calibre of ammunition to be lost sight of.

Thus it seems that keeping well in mind the uses to which torpedo-boats and destroyers are to be put, the limitations in each case will produce two entirely distinct types of boats. There does not seem to be the least object in merging these two types in one by building boats of intermediate sizes. By so doing the objects of the torpedo-boat proper are defeated and those of the destroyer are not attained. There will also be produced a heterogeneous flotilla incapable of manœuvring for any common object. This state of affairs will inevitably be produced by permitting builders to set their own dimensions and displacements. I believe it would be wise to use the terms destroyer and torpedo-boat in appropriation acts to indicate the character of the boat, and then for the proposals to indicate very nearly the displacement, speed, trial weights, and total coal endurance. The builders would then have an opportunity to display their skill within the settled requirements in such directions as design of hull with regard to speed, lightness of construction consistent with strength, and horse-power in proportion to weight of boilers and machinery. Then by requiring all speed trials to be made at normal displacement it would be easy to compare the performances of rival boats. A simple definition of normal displacement is the displacement with all torpedo and battery weights aboard, the crew and their effects, all permanent stores, and one half the full amount of coal and perishable stores.

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It is conceivable that nations may be so situated as to make their torpedo-boat policy very variable. The English, for instance, predominate over other powers in regard to ships. They are willing to trust their ships to take care of the enemy's ships. With regard to torpedo boats they prefer not to have many, but to possess enough destroyers to look after all the enemy's boats. In our own case, as before stated, it is not probable that hostile torpedo boats will be encountered on our coast, but it is possible that we may meet destroyers. As we are not in the first rank in respect to ships, we can well rely largely on torpedo boats to help us out; and as we shall require destroyers to meet those that may be present in the enemy's fleet, it is evident that it is the part of wisdom to build both types; but for the present we would seem to need more of the smaller ones.

Nothing has been said here of the means of defence that would be used by ships against these craft. Torpedo nets are out of vogue, and as has been stated, the searchlight cannot be relied on to pick up the boats early enough to ensure their destruction. A squadron at anchor within striking distance of torpedo-boats would be almost at their mercy if unprovided with other means of defence. The logical defence is a flotilla of destroyers. These would cruise about the anchorage within signal distance of each other, and some would be detached to scout for torpedo-boats. Then, nearer the ship would be vedettes and picket-launches to give the alarm. Searchlights are condemned by all the best authorities prior to the actual discovery of the attacking boat. They blind the eyes of the lookouts and they serve as a lighthouse to the enemy. Their only use is to light up the target offered by the approaching boat.

At sea the squadron should cruise with lights concealed and with scouts and destroyers surrounding it on all sides. We have the beginning of a fine fleet of vessels, but we are almost entirely helpless in the means of saving them from one of the most destructive foes they are liable to meet, and one whose importance and power of offence are constantly increasing.

R. C. SMITH.

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THE IRISH QUESTION IN A NEW LIGHT.

BY THE RT. HON. HORACE PLUNKETT, M. P., CHAIRMAN OF THE RECESS COMMITTEE, AND PRESIDENT OF THE IRISH AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATION SOCIETY.

A REMARKABLE change has taken place in the Irish situation. In the first zeal of his conversion to Home Rule, Mr. Gladstone declared that the whole civilized world was on his side; and he could, at any rate, count upon the enthusiastic endorsement of his policy by American public opinion. A week or two ago there was widely circulated in the American press an obituary notice from the pen of no less distinguished an observer of current events than Professor Goldwin Smith, who has satisfied himself that Home Rule is dead!

Be this as it may—and for my part I do not go so far as the eminent historian—the once burning Irish question no longer attracts audiences, or dollars, in the United States. Nevertheless, no greater mistake could be made than to suppose that the American nation has finally cast off its Irish sympathies. There is too much Irish blood flowing through its veins to allow it to forget Ireland while many of her people remain in poverty and discontent. For these Irish sympathizers, even if Home Rule were dead, the Irish question would remain. But it will be approached in a calmer and more helpful spirit. There is no public opinion in the world which learns more surely from experience than that of the American people. The logic of events has forced many who supported the National movement to the conclusion that there must be something unsound either in the cause itself or in the method of its promotion. And now, practical before all things, the American mind will not readily commit itself again to any definite policy for Ireland, unless it sees clearly whither that policy will lead.

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Nor is it only sympathy for Ireland which will keep alive American interest in the condition of her people. The influence of Irish organizations upon the public life of the United States, whether it be for good or for evil, will at any rate be a powerful influence for many years to come. The bond between the Irish in Ireland and the far larger portion of the race which has found its home in the Western hemisphere may in some respects be temporarily loosened. But, in the main, the policy, tone, and temper of these Irish-American organizations will reflect the political, social, and economic situation in Ireland. It is equally true that the situation in Ireland is affected by the influence of public opinion in the United States. There exists, then, a common interest between the readers of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW and the Irish politician whom its Editor has invited to address them. I am, therefore, glad to tell, and I believe they will be glad to hear, of certain new developments in Ireland which seem to point to better things.

For nearly twenty years I have enjoyed intimate relations with Americans in many States from the Atlantic to the Rockies. In the earlier years of my sojourn among them I found it wiser to avoid the Irish question altogether. Everyone knew so much more about it than I did, and had found a comprehensive and entirely satisfactory solution to the problem which baffled my poor understanding. The main facts upon which their conclusions were based seemed to belong to an Ireland of which I have read, but which ceased to exist some years before I was born. Now, however, American public opinion seems itself to be passing through a period of bewilderment and has returned to its characteristic openmindedness, which the Irish controversy seemed for a while to have disturbed. I have, therefore, no hesitation in submitting to public criticism in America the new Irish movement with which I am associated. In doing so, I shall try to follow the advice of a learned judge, Sir Edward Fry, now presiding over a commission appointed to enquire into the working of the Irish Land Acts, who, in opening the proceedings, appealed to counsel so to present the case from either side as to generate the maximum of light and the minimum of heat.

The policy to be described depends for its success upon the united action, for the common good, of Irishmen politically op-

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posed to each other. This may appear to some to be the pious aspiration of a visionary. But those who really understand the Irish character, and know something of Irish history, are aware that the barriers which divide class from class, party from party, and creed from creed, do not exist by virtue of any natural law, and might easily be broken down. The fact is—and I speak from experience—that it is not hard to get people to work together in Ireland if you can only get them to come together. But, until the last year or two, it was regarded as a political necessity to keep men apart. I will briefly summarize, from my own standpoint, the circumstances which have so happily altered the situation.

Many of my American friends, who, in the heydey of Parnell's power, plunged themselves heart and soul into the Irish question, now confess themselves totally incapable of comprehending how differences of opinion among his followers can be allowed to wreck the policy which he had built up. I am glad that I can honestly avow my own utter inability to throw any light upon the subject, or to give any clear definition of the issues which keep asunder the various sections into which this once formidable party is now divided. I am convinced, however, that the present state of confusion in Nationalist ranks has a more deeply seated cause than merely personal disputes. These would be effectively dealt with if there were not "something rotten in the state" of Ireland. The trouble arises from an inherent defect in the Parnell system. During his reign the suffrage was widely extended, and, under other circumstances, the political development of the people would have ensued as a natural consequence. But the paramount influence which the Irish leader exercised over an essentially leader-following people enabled him to enter into a simple compact with the Irish electors, the terms of which he dictated. They were to vote for his nominees, and he was to obtain Home Rule. As a question of tactics, this was probably the best course to pursue. Had Parnell lived, and, above all, had the cause not suffered a blow which, among an extremely moral people, was more fatal to his influence than his demise, Home Rule might at least have been tried. In that event, it may be argued that the undoubted statesmanship of the "Uncrowned King" might have found in autonomy the forces necessary for the rapid political education of the people. Per-

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haps, too, he might have used his influence to develop their industrial capacities—a task for which the mere concession of a more democratic franchise did not afford him an opportunity. I consider it fair to state these possibilities, though they do not harmonize with my own ideas of a nations's growth. In any case, speculations of this kind are of mere academic value now. Whatever its merits or defects, the Parnell system was a one-man system, and as such it carried a risk against which it was impossible to insure.

What followed the disappearance of Parnell is well known. The political pendulum swung over the Home Rule allies. A Home Rule bill passed through the House of Commons, and was summarily rejected by the House of Lords. The agitation against the much-abused aristocrats fell flat, and the Liberal Government showed no anxiety to place the issue again before the electors.

When Lord Rosebery took up the reins from the venerable statesman who then retired, he seemed to regard the one-man system as a permanent principle of Irish politics. In a memorable speech he significantly remarked that the next Irish leader was probably being wheeled about in a perambulator. And if our politics really are to blunder along indefinitely in the time-honored rut, I dare say we shall have to wait for any hopeful solution of the Irish question until this infant prodigy has arrived at man's estate.

It may be wondered why an opponent of Home Rule in the accepted sense should not contemplate such a prospect at least with equanimity. The explanation is simple. While I consider that the proposed constitutional change would only aggravate the evils from which we suffer, I do not, on that account, think that nothing should be done. England does not owe us Home Rule; but she does owe us, and would give us if we would only agree upon the need of it, remedial legislation of another kind. She is virtually pledged to a reform by which our local government shall be "put on a broad and popular basis," and she will make a great step in that direction in the coming session of Parliament. Private legislation by which purely local Irish business will be relieved of the expense and inconvenience of transacting it at Westminster, is in contemplation. But there remains a less popular and showy reform which is in my judgment

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of surpassing importance, as it goes to the root of Irish poverty. The main purpose of this article is to explain and enlist sympathy with the efforts which are being made to obtain the desired relief.

The principle upon which, under modern conditions, the salvation of Ireland must be sought, becomes more manifest every year. The Irish difficulty has long been rather economic than political, and it is so more than ever to-day. Solve the economic problem, and in the process the Irish people will be so elevated and strengthened that they will be able to solve the political problem for themselves. I am firmly convinced that all future attempts to deal with the Irish question on purely political lines are doomed to share the fate of Irish policies in the past.

The space at my command does not permit me to establish the theoretic soundness of the position I take up. I believe it will commend itself to the judgment of the most of those who read this article. In any case, I must now proceed to describe the steps which are being taken to give practical effect to the views I have enunciated.

In doing this, I am confronted with a great difficulty. I have to speak of events in which I took a leading part, and I have not the circumlocutory ingenuity which would be required to combine in my narrative the advantages of personal experience with the avoidance of the first person singular. I hope I may disarm the criticism of those who would accuse me of egotism by admitting frankly that my own prominence, in the somewhat novel and unconventional proceedings I am about to describe, was due to the possession of a political reputation with which I could afford to play fast and loose; while the credit for any success which has been or may be achieved by the new movement which I helped to initiate, is due to men of infinitely greater capacity who devoted themselves to its promotion.

It was not until the general election of 1895 had, by universal admission, postponed, for some years at any rate, the concession of Home Rule, that the opportunity arose to formulate a definite scheme. In August of that year I promulgated in a letter to the Irish press what, quite sincerely if somewhat grandiloquently, I called "A proposal affecting the general welfare of Ireland." A few extracts from this letter will best explain the general scope and purpose of the scheme. After confessing my continued opposition

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to Home Rule because "I did not think it would be good for Ireland," I made the admission "that if the average Irish elector, who is more intelligent than the average British elector, were also as prosperous, as industrious, and as well educated, his continued demand, in the proper constitutional way, for home rule would very likely result in the experiment being one day tried." On the other hand, I gave it as my opinion that "if the material conditions of the great body of our countrymen were advanced, if they were encouraged in industrial enterprise, and were provided with practical education in proportion to their natural intelligence, they would see that a political development on lines similar to those adopted in England was, considering the necessary relations between the two countries, best for Ireland; and then they would cease to desire Home Rule." I then thus suggested a basis for united action between politicians on both sides of the Irish controversy: "We find ourselves still opposed upon the main question, but all anxious to promote the welfare of the country, and confident that, as this is advanced, our respective policies will be confirmed. If, then, it be agreed that it will be good patriotism and good policy alike to work for the material and social advancement of our country, what is to make any of us hesitate to enter at once upon that united action between Irishmen of both parties which alone can produce the desired result?"

The letter proceeded to indicate economic legislation sorely needed by Ireland, and yet quite unobtainable unless it could be removed from the region of controversy. The *modus co-operandi* suggested was as follows: A committee, to sit in the parliamentary recess (whence it came to be known as "The Recess Committee"), was to be formed, consisting, in the first instance, of Irish Members of Parliament nominated by their leaders of the different sections. These nominees should invite to join them any Irishmen whose capacity, knowledge or experience might be of service to the committee, irrespective of the political party or religious persuasion to which they might belong.

I desire, in passing, to emphasize the importance which attaches to this last provision of the scheme. Regarding the Irish question simply from a business point of view—a way of looking at things for which years spent upon the Western plains are accountable—I have always been struck by one very deplorable

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feature of Irish public life. Not only the representative men of the classes which have the advantage of wealth and leisure, but also the leaders of our commercial and industrial enterprises, have long been excluded from all influence on the thought and action of the great majority of the people. On the other hand, the actual Irish leaders have rarely been men prominent in any walk of life outside the sphere of politics. I do not wish to be understood as reflecting in any way upon the most representative of my Nationalist fellow-countrymen in pointing out this disadvantage, which I could easily prove, if it were relevant to my argument to do so, to have been in many respects greatly to their credit. My purpose is to show that the Recess Committee was designed to bring about what I consider to be an absolutely necessary combination between the two elements of Irish leadership—the one possessing practical knowledge and commercial experience, the other monopolizing effective influence over the people.

I concluded the letter by broadly commending the scheme to Irish politicians all and sundry. The day had come when "we Unionists, without abating one jot of our Unionism, and Nationalists, without abating one jot of their Nationalism, can each show our faith in the cause for which we have fought so bitterly and so long by sinking our party differences for our country's good, and leaving our respective policies for the justification of time."

Needless to say, few besides the author of the proposal were sanguine enough to hope that such a committee would ever be brought together. If that were accomplished some prophesied that its members would but emulate the fame of the Kilkenny cats. A severe blow was dealt to the project at the outset by the refusal of Mr. Justin McCarthy, who then spoke for the largest section of the Nationalist representatives, to have anything to do with it. However, before this decision was officially announced the idea had "caught on." Public bodies throughout the country endorsed the scheme, and Mr. John Redmond and his followers, who acted in the most conciliatory manner throughout, gave it their adhesion. The parliamentarians then invited prominent men from all quarters, and a committee, which, though informal and self-appointed, might fairly claim to be representative in every material respect, was constituted on the lines laid down.

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Truly, it was a strange council over which I now had the honor to preside. All shades of politics were there—Lords Mayo and Monteagle, Mr. Dane and Sir Thomas Lea (Tories and Liberal Unionists) sitting down beside Mr. John Redmond and his parliamentary followers. It was found possible, in framing proposals fraught with moral, social, and educational results, to secure the common agreement of the Rev. Dr. Kane, Grand-Master of the Belfast Orangemen, and of the eminent Jesuit educationalist, Father Thomas Finlay, of the Royal University. The O'Connor Don, the able chairman of the Financial Relations Commission, and one of Her Majesty's judges, both Unionists, were fairly balanced by the present and two former Nationalist Lord-Mayors of Dublin. Sir John Arnott fitly represented the commercial enterprise of the South, while such men as Mr. Thomas Sinclair, Sir William Ewart, Sir Daniel Dixon, Sir James Musgrave, and Mr. Thomas Andrews would be universally accepted as the highest authorities upon the needs of the community which has made Ulster famous in the industrial world.

The story of our deliberations and ultimate conclusions cannot be set forth here except in the barest outline. We instituted an inquiry into the means by which the government could best promote the development of our agricultural and industrial resources. Failing to get the information we required from official and other publications, we despatched special commissioners to nine countries of Europe* whose economic conditions and progress might afford some lessons for Ireland. Our funds did not admit of an inquiry in the United States or the Colonies. However, we obtained invaluable information as to the method by which countries which were our chief rivals in agricultural and industrial production, have been enabled successfully to compete with our producers even in our own markets. Our commissioners were instructed in each case to collect the facts necessary to enable us to differentiate the parts played respectively by State aid and the efforts of the people themselves in producing these results. With this information before us, after long and earnest deliberation we came to a unanimous agreement upon the main facts of the situation

* France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Wurtemberg, Bavaria, Austria, Hungary and Switzerland. Mr. Michael Mulhall, the well-known statistician, and Mr. Thomas P. Gill who acted as secretary to the committee and rendered invaluable service in that capacity, as well, undertook this mission.

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with which we had to deal, and upon the recommendations for remedial legislation we should make to the government.

"We have in Ireland," I am quoting from the report, "a poor country, practically without manufactures—except for the linen and shipbuilding of the north, and the brewing and distilling of Dublin—dependent upon agriculture, with its soil imperfectly tilled, its area under cultivation decreasing, and a diminishing population without industrial habits or technical skill." We sought to prove that this melancholy state of things was not due to racial defects or other unalterable conditions, but was largely attributable to misgovernment in the past. It was not our purpose to criticise, in the light of our present knowledge, the policies of other days, or to indulge in abuse of the present generation of Englishmen for the misdoings of their ancestors. We merely sought to establish a claim for such special treatment as might, without offending against the accepted principles of political economy, or disturbing the fiscal arrangements of the United Kingdom, place our people on the economic level which they would probably have obtained, if England had governed Ireland as well as she governed herself. I think we convinced all with whom the doctrine of *laissez faire* is not carried to the verge of idolatry.

The substance of our recommendations was that a Department of Government should be specially created, with a minister directly responsible to Parliament at its head. The central body was to be assisted by a Consultative Council representative of the interests concerned. The department was to be adequately endowed from the Imperial Treasury, and was to administer State aid to agriculture and industries in Ireland upon principles which were fully described. Those who desire to know the details of this proposal for legislation, and the facts and arguments upon which it was based, must refer to the report, which can easily be obtained.* I need only say here that the scheme, in its main features, was taken from the institutions of the countries to which our investigations were extended, and modified to meet the requirements of our own case. The amalgamation of agriculture and industries under one department was largely due to the opinion expressed by M. Tisserand, late Director General of Agriculture in France, and

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probably the highest authority in Europe upon the administration of State aid to agriculture. The memorandum which he kindly contributed to the Recess Committee was copied into the annual report of the United States Department of Agriculture for 1896. The creation of a new minister directly responsible to Parliament was a necessary provision. Ireland is at present governed by a number of boards, all, with the one exception of the Board of Works, which is a branch of the Treasury, responsible to the Chief Secretary—practically a whole cabinet in himself—who is supposed to be responsible for them to Parliament. The bearers of this preposterous burden are generally men of great ability, as is the case at the present time. But no Chief Secretary could possibly take under his wing yet another department with the entirely new and important functions now to be discharged. The members of the department were to be nominated by the Executive, since no process of popular election could be counted upon to secure the best men for such administrative work. The Consultative Council, a device which, from continental experience, we were convinced would keep the department in touch with the interests it was created to subserve, was to be largely elective.

The appearance of the report was greeted with a chorus of approval in the press, the perfected scheme meeting with the same public support which had been accorded to the original project. In the last session of Parliament the Chief Secretary introduced a measure, avowedly based, in its main lines, upon the report. The Treasury, however, inserted a provision by which the funds for working the scheme should come out of the Irish instead of the common purse. This made the bill unpopular. But in any case it had little chance of passing into law in the then attitude of a large number of Irish members towards the Recess Committee. Mr. Dillon, who had succeeded Mr. Justin McCarthy in the leadership, and who has opposed the Recess Committee throughout, publicly characterized the report as "idiotic," and accused its author of seeking a salary for himself and jobs for his friends. I can quite understand that, to any one who believes in the sufficiency of political agitation to deal with the Irish problem, such criticism may appear appropriate. In any case, it is rather helpful than the reverse. Meanwhile, public opinion in favor of our recommendations is growing rapidly. On November 30 last, a large deputation rep-

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resenting all the leading agricultural and industrial interests of the country waited upon the Irish government, in order to press upon them the urgent need for the new department. The Chief Secretary, after describing the gathering as "one of the most notable deputations which has ever come to lay its case before the Irish government," and noting the "remarkable growth of public opinion" in favor of the policy embodied in his bill of last session, expressed his heartfelt sympathy with the case which had been presented, and his earnest desire—which is well known—to proceed with his policy of agricultural and industrial development at the earliest moment. But his hands are tied. The demand made upon the government is, in a qualitative sense, already irresistible. But economic agitation of this kind takes time to become numerically powerful. You cannot get backward producers to agitate for the legislation I have described, any more than you can get schoolboys to clamor for a more advanced curriculum. We are, however, moving along, and whatever delay the exigencies of party politics may prescribe, I claim for those who gave their work and time to its deliberations, that the Recess Committee has already been a powerful influence for good, and has justified its existence.

I now pass to the other side of the new movement, which is in no sense political. In seeking remedial legislation, the Recess Committee did not fall into the error of placing undue reliance on the efficacy of State aid. Those who read the report will see that they rely mainly upon self-help, and insist throughout that the government should be careful to intervene in such a manner as to evoke and supplement, but not provide a substitute for, this essential quality.

They recognize also that this self-help must be organized in order to fulfil its purpose. This is the teaching alike of countries mainly agricultural, such as Denmark; of those mainly industrial, such as Würtemburg; and of those largely agricultural and industrial, such as France and Belgium. The government always seeks to work with and through local associations. Even in schemes of practical education, local initiation, local contribution, and local control are generally made the condition precedent of monetary and other assistance from the central authority. Undoubtedly this principle must be observed if governmental interference is not to degenerate into jobbery and waste.

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It will surprise most of those who read this article to hear that this principle is finding wide acceptance among the farmers of Ireland. During the past eight years a movement which has for its object the uplifting of the rural community, economically first, and then socially and intellectually, has been quietly but actively promoted by a few enthusiasts. The programme of these reformers is based on the principle of voluntary association for industrial purposes, an agency which, in addition to its economic advantages, has proved, wherever it has been tried, to be productive of most beneficial effects upon the character of the individual.

Practical effect was to be given to this principle by the establishment of societies of farmers on lines well known in many European countries, notably in Denmark, where such organizations are to be found in every parish. Ireland, of course, needs diversified manufactures, reliance upon a single industry not being a desirable condition. But Irish statistics, which show that the vast majority of the people are dependent, directly or indirectly, upon the land, point clearly to the advancement of agriculture as the first step in economic progress. Moreover, a class possessing the habits and methods of industry is a prime necessity in the successful promotion of manufacturing enterprise. Such a class can be created in Ireland only out of the agricultural community, and industrially educated in connection with the industry with which it is familiar. *Festina lente* was the motto of these men.

The history of this work might be interesting, more especially as the problem with which it deals is very nearly related to a problem now coming to the front in the United States, which I may seek an opportunity to discuss on another occasion. I can now only say that after a period of constant and apparently fruitless toil the farming societies began to struggle into existence. In the spring of 1894 a considerable amount of public interest in these efforts was aroused, and a society called the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, as widely representative as the Recess Committee, was formed to provide funds for carrying on the movement, which had then grown to such proportions that it could no longer be promoted by the original volunteers. Owing to the influence of this philanthropic association we have to-day some 170 of these societies in Ireland scattered throughout thirty-

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one of the thirty-two counties, with an aggregate membership of some 17,000.

These societies variously embrace every branch of the farming industry. They cheapen production by the joint purchase of seeds, manures, implements, machinery, and other requirements of their industry. In dairying districts they erect creameries, which they show a capacity to operate for their own profit. They jointly sell what they produce with a view to saving middle profits. They are in many districts applying the principle of co-operation to agricultural finance, and are thus securing a great reduction of interest upon farm loans. The advantages derived from combination of individuals is enhanced by joint action between societies. The societies are generally prosperous, the percentage of commercial failures being practically nominal.

Such is a rough outline of the purely economic movement which preceded and rendered possible its semi-political complement, the Recess Committee. I believe that the full development of agricultural organization points the only way by which the agricultural industry in Ireland can be saved. The Irish farmers, who formerly had to compete only with their fellow-workers in the United Kingdom, are now brought into competition with the farmers of the whole world. The time has come when they must intelligently apply to their industry those methods of combination which have been resorted to by those engaged in every other industrial undertaking, and by farmers of other countries. The system by which we are seeking to attain this result has already proved its economic soundness; and it is only lack of funds sufficient to send organizers qualified to educate bodies of farmers, who are ready to listen to them in almost every parish in Ireland, in its principles and procedure, which delays its universal adoption. May I point out that in providing the sinews of war a splendid opportunity is open for some wealthy lover of Ireland to confer upon her people an incalculable boon?

I am quite aware that I throw myself open to adverse criticism on the part of more ardent politicians on both sides of the great dividing line. On the one hand, I shall be told that the settlement of the land question is immeasurably more important than the attempt to bolster up an industry hopelessly handicapped by landlordism. I cannot now deal with that argument, but must ask my readers to withhold judgment until they have

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studied, at least in outline, the drastic land legislation of the last quarter of a century, and have realized the present legal status of the Irish tenant. They will probably come to the conclusion that rent is no longer the chief factor in cost of production, and that the need of the day is a system of organized self-help supplemented by State aid. On the other hand, I may be told that I fail to be duly grateful for the noble work—and such it was—of Mr. Arthur Balfour in the west of Ireland, and that I am unreasonable in pressing for further State aid while other Irish affairs are before Parliament. I can only reply that the best way to help Ireland is to aid in developing her resources, and that of these by far the most important are those which exist in the people themselves. The annual exodus of Irishmen from Ireland still appeals eloquently to the government to develop something besides our politics.

One criticism of a more general character remains. I shall be told that those of us who are trying to turn the minds of our countrymen from purely political to economic reforms take no account of Irish sentiment, and show a profane disregard for the national aspirations. Our answer is broadly this. While we do not consider it un-Irish to be practical, we are quite aware that without sentiment on our side we can exercise no influence for good upon our fellow-countrymen. So let us be known by our fruit. I believe our chief offence is that we despise that so-called love for Ireland which is but a thinly disguised hatred for England. Our hopes for the regeneration of our country do not involve the destruction of an empire which Irishmen have taken a leading part in building up, and are to-day foremost in maintaining.* Such a perverted patriotism is alien to the character of the Irish people, who are neither revengeful nor wanting in intelligence.

It may be that independence of thought upon the Irish question will still subject a man to a storm of obloquy. I am, however, convinced that nothing but good can come from a frank and unreserved expression in America of opinions upon the Irish question which have not there been heard before.

HORACE PLUNKETT.

* The names of Irish empire-builders in the past are too numerous to cite. The services of Lords Wolseley and Roberts on land, of Lord Charles Beresford on water, and of Lord Dufferin in diplomacy, are among the latest instances of the preëminence of Irishmen in imperial affairs.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE HEART AND THE WILL IN BELIEF.—ROMANES AND MILL.

THESE two names I have linked together on account of a similarity in certain phases of thought through which they passed. They were both recognized champions of Agnosticism, and yet they came in their later years to modify their earlier positions—Mill, in a tentative manner, Romanes in a frank acknowledgment on his part of a radical change of opinion. The transition from a negative to a positive position in reference to the question of theism is of primary interest in its bearing upon the problems of religion and of life. As the writer of the article on Romanes in the *Quarterly Review* has pointed out, "The current of his thought may be called the movement of the age." This larger view of the subject is alluring, and yet within the scope of the present article I would examine some of the psychological phenomena accompanying such a change of opinion, rather than attempt to assess its value, or interpret its significance. I shall consider, therefore, the experiences of Mill and Romanes as illustrating the influence of certain mental forces which lie outside the processes of reason, and yet are contributing factors in determining the judgment.

We find these two men, the logician and the scientist, absorbed through many years in special pursuits which naturally developed a habit of mind which led to the consideration of all propositions "in the dry light of reason." They were scrupulously consistent adherents of a purely logical and scientific method. In this atmosphere, a negative criticism of theism naturally ensued. Mill's position is indicated in various passages of his earlier works, and notably in his essays on religion. These essays were published after his death; we fail, however, to estimate them properly if we overlook the fact that the essay on Nature, and the others on the "Utility of Religion" were written in the years 1850-58, and the third essay, on "Theism," was written between 1868 and 1870, just before his death.

The interval between the two former and the last will account for the concessions which the final essay contains, and which are not in harmony with the negative attitude of his earlier position. He acknowledges that the hope, while only a hope, concerning the government of the universe and the destiny of man is nevertheless legitimate and philosophically defensible. Though espousing the Religion of Humanity and Duty, he still confesses that in living consistently in the spirit of its high behests, one may be "co-operating with the unseen Being to whom we owe all that is enjoyable in life." Mr. Morley, who can be accused of no bias in his opinion, reluctantly and with evident regret acknowledges this change of attitude, and evidently feels that Mr. Mill in the essay on Theism has become almost apostate as

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regards the creed of Agnosticism. In this essay Mill concedes the possibility of the sentiments and the imagination determining assent as well as the purely ratiocinative process of the mind, and remarks that "in the regulation of the imagination literal truth of facts is not the only thing to be considered. Truth is the province of reason, but when reason is strongly cultivated, the imagination may safely follow its own end, and do its best to make life pleasant and lovely inside the castle in reliance on the fortifications raised and maintained by reason round the outward bounds. This makes life and human nature a far greater thing to the feelings, and gives greater strength as well as greater solemnity to all the sentiments which are awakened in us by our fellow creatures and by mankind at large."

In the early years of Mill's life there was a conspicuous absence of the elements of feeling. His education was calculated to stifle all sentiment and emotion. "The education," he says, "which my father gave me was in itself much more fitted for training me to know, than to do," and it might be added, than to feel also. For Mill confesses that his father resembled most Englishmen in being ashamed of the signs of feeling, and by absence of demonstration starving the feelings themselves. As to his own nature in this respect, he says: "The habit of analysis has a tendency to wear away the feelings, as indeed it has when no other mental habit is cultivated and the analyzing spirit remains without its natural complements and correctives. I had learned by experience that the passive susceptibilities needed to be cultivated as well as the active capacities, and required to be nourished and enriched as well as guided. I never turned recreant to intellectual culture, or ceased to consider the power and practice of analysis as an essential condition both of individual and of social improvement. But I thought that it had consequences which required to be corrected by joining other kinds of cultivation with it. The maintenance of a due balance among the faculties now seemed to me of primary importance." Through Mill's knowledge of his own limitations in this respect he was led to put forth special efforts to overcome this conscious deficiency. The cultivation of the feelings became one of the cardinal points in his ethical and philosophical creed.

There is a deliciously *naive* remark in Mill's *Autobiography* upon the occasion of his reading in *Marmontel's Memoires* of the death of the author's father and the distressed position of the family, so vividly described as to move him to tears. Mill hails this outburst of feeling on his part with positive delight, saying: "From this moment my burden grew lighter. The oppression of the thought that all feeling was dead within me was gone." The growth of his emotional nature was no doubt quickened and nurtured by the influence of Coleridge, Sterling, and Maurice. Mr. Courtney, in his excellent biography of Mill, thinks that the influence of Mrs. Taylor, afterward Mill's wife, checked these influences for a time. Feeling and sentiment, however, came slowly to blend more and more with the powers of pure reason as effective moments in the life of the spirit. In his later years Mill sensibly mellowed, so that his last utterances represented the ripe product of heart as well as of brain.

Romanes passed through a similar experience, reaching, however, more definite and pronounced results. The tendency which is evident in Mill, and yet only a tendency, became in Romanes a radical change of opinion unmistakably and unreservedly expressed. He had published in 1876 his *Candid Examination of Theism* under the *nom-de-plume* of *Physicus*,

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repudiating the possibility of theistic belief. In his *Thoughts on Religion*, a posthumous work, Romanes frankly disavows the conclusions of his earlier reasoning, and presents positive considerations in defence of a theistic position. There had been evident tendencies toward such a change manifested in his Rede Lecture on *Mind and Matter*, also in his essay on *The World as Eject*, as indicated in his interpreting the phenomena of existence upon a monistic basis which was essentially spiritualistic. The earlier materialistic tendencies of his thought are here repudiated. Not only do we have the fact of this revolution of thought clearly stated, we have also Romanes' explanation of the causes operative in effecting it: "It does not appear to me that the modifications which my views have undergone since the publication of my previous *Candid Examination* are due so much to purely logical processes of the intellect as to the sub-conscious (and therefore more or less unanalyzable) influences due to the ripening experiences of life. The extent to which this is true is seldom, if ever, realized, although it is practically exemplified every day in the sobering caution which advancing age exercises upon the mind. Most of all is this the case in those departments of thought which are furthest from the region of our sensuous life, viz., metaphysics and religion."

Romanes' position in this later work is substantially that reason alone leads to Agnosticism as regards religion, that the question of the being of a God is incapable of proof or disproof by abstract reasoning and scientific evidence, but that at this point one has only begun his inquiry into the grounds and justification of religious belief. "For," he adds, "reason is not the only attribute of man, nor is it the only faculty which he habitually employs for the ascertainment of truth. Moral and spiritual faculties are of no less importance in their respective spheres even of everyday life; faith, trust, taste, etc., are as needful in ascertaining truth as to character, beauty, etc., as is reason." Romanes very frankly confesses that his chief difficulty had been an undue regard to reason as against heart and will. He dwells upon the complexity of assent throughout the whole range of life, and especially emphasizes the volitional as well as the emotional factors in those forces of the mind which make for belief. He insists that inasmuch as all first principles even of science are known by intuition, so must certainly the first principles of morality.

In the two experiences which I have endeavored to present, we find a consciousness of the limitations of the reasoning powers of the mind, and the conscious need of supplementing their exercise by the results of the intuitive deliverances of the moral and spiritual consciousness. While the latter may be called extra-rational, they must nevertheless not be regarded as irrational, for it is possible that these results may become incorporated in the body of rational doctrine, inasmuch as we have seen in the lives of Romanes and Mill that they can actually find a place in a severely logical and scientific mind, and yet no conscious incongruity be experienced. They do no violence to a rational sensitiveness that is consistently inhospitable to all discordant claimants, however clamorously they may crave recognition. We, therefore, conclude that there is a will to believe that is not solely the result of a reasoned analysis, that there are intimations of truth which are not demonstrative, that there are determining factors which are not premises, judgments which are not conclusions, and that the heart has its reasons which the heart alone can understand.

JOHN GRIER HIBBEN.

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A CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT FUND.

DURING the four months of the late special session there were introduced in Congress twenty-six bills and joint resolutions bearing on the Civil Service system, besides two Senate resolutions directing investigation of the operations of the Civil Service Commission, and inquiry into the dismissal of employees in the government printing office. The Senate assumed a conservative and rather unfriendly attitude toward all measures for the reform and extension of the service, and evinced willingness to listen to wholly frivolous charges of extravagance on the part of the Commission. The House vindicated its theoretical character as the popular body by originating twenty-two of the twenty-six measures referred to ranging in the scope of their provisions from mere administrative changes in the present law to total abolition of the system on the one hand, and on the other to its further extension to all classes of civil employees in all offices, and the crowning of the edifice of reform with a retirement system, providing pensions for disabled and superannuated employees, to be paid, not from the public purse, like army and navy pensions, but from a fund raised by the employees themselves.

The only proposition for unconditionally wiping out the entire system was made, as might have been anticipated, by a Republican and a new member, Representative Dorr, of the Third West Virginia District. Populist Senator Allen, of Nebraska, introduced a bill even more sweeping in that it proposes not only to abolish the system but to revoke and annul all executive orders based on the existing law and the legislation supplementary to it. His bill offers a sop, however, to the public demand for ascertained fitness in appointees by requiring the head of each executive department "to establish reasonable and just rules in writing for the examination of all persons applying for positions." These bills will never be reported from the committees, nor is it likely that anything further will be heard of the several bills and resolutions to revoke or limit the authority of the President to extend the Civil Service to offices and positions not at present included in the system. It is held by most of the lawyers in Congress that the President's authority to extend the Civil Service implies equal authority to revoke previous extensions, and many Republican Congressmen have based on this the hope that Mr. McKinley would presently undo some of Mr. Cleveland's work, and, especially in the government printing office, open the door for wholesale dismissals and the reinstatement of many discharged Republicans and appointment of others who have never yet been in the service. There is not, and has not been, any indication that the President will take such a step. He is apparently in accord with the general policy of improving the service and at the suggestion, if not at the request, of the commissioners made his order severely limiting removals of subordinate officials; and the order was issued on the eve of the judicial decision which, as had been anticipated, sustained the general power of removal in the chiefs of government offices and suggested that their responsibility for the exercise of that power is not to the Civil Service Commission but to the heads of the respective departments and so, ultimately, to the President.

The extension of the Civil Service to offices not as yet included is inevitable and will not be long delayed, but the system will not be logically complete until Congress shall pass a retirement law providing annuities for superannuated and disabled employees. There is a strong and growing

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sentiment in the House favoring such a law, and considerable progress in framing a satisfactory bill was made during the last session of the 54th Congress. No one has yet been bold enough to suggest that the government should contribute to the necessary fund; the prudent legislator, evidently believing that he attains the furthest limit of generosity when he grants the Civil Service clerk permission to insure himself against the needs of age or permanent ill-health. Of several bills for this purpose considered by the House Committee on Reform in the Civil Service in the late Congress that of Representative Tawney, of the First Minnesota District, was the best, and a sub-committee, of which Mr. Tawney was chairman, went into the subject thoroughly and held several public hearings. Much valuable information was elicited, particularly from the Civil Service Commissioners, who appeared and gave their views unofficially, and from various department officials and employees. A committee appointed by the employees of the New York custom house carefully went over the bill and forwarded some pertinent and practical suggestions. The widest latitude was permitted in the public inquiry, and it is only fair to say that a rather active and intelligent opposition was manifested by a number of department employees and a remonstrance, emanating from the Pension Bureau and bearing nearly six hundred signatures, was presented against a retirement bill.

Nothing in the way of genuine reform was to have been expected in the short last session of the Fifty-fourth Congress, and its bills died with it. On the opening of the special session of the present Congress in March Representative Brosius, of Pennsylvania, introduced a new retirement bill embodying the best suggestions which his committee received last year, and the friends of the reform had the satisfaction later of seeing him again placed at the head of the House Civil Service Committee, with Mr. Tawney next among the Republicans, and Mr. Dockery, of Missouri, heading the Democrats on the committee. For the rest the committee is rather colorless, but will not be obstructive. There will be a number of public hearings in Congress and much lay and professional opinion will be called for before any bill is reported to the House. The passage of a bill will depend almost wholly on the influence brought to bear by the employees whose interests it will directly affect. Coteries are already forming in all the departments with a view to influencing sentiment in Congress, and the measure will become a law as soon as the interested employees pretty unanimously demand it.

As it now stands the bill provides for the retention and investment by the Secretary of the Treasury of two per cent. of all monthly salaries, and four years after the first payments are made retirements will begin, with life annuities of seventy-five per cent. of the highest pay at any time received by the retiring employee while in the Civil Service. Retirement for disability after twenty years' service may be either voluntary or compulsory; it is voluntary at sixty years of age after thirty years' service, and compulsory at seventy after thirty-five years' service. The Civil Service Commissioners are to act as the retiring board and are to be allowed one twelve hundred dollar clerk, and the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to designate a chief of bureau at $1,800 and three $1,200 clerks to manage the fund, out of which all expenses are to be paid. When it is remembered that there will be at the start a probable minimum of 100 applications for retirement per month, and 90,000 contributors

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to the fund, the crudity of the Congressional view of this form of the protective insurance problem is manifest. The pay in the average grades of our Civil Service is so much more liberal than that given by any other government that it does not seem probable that a two per cent. assessment funded at four per cent. can yield more than a half-pay annuity with the best of management. That phase of the problem has not, however, been attacked, the statistics of pay by classes and individuals in the several departments never having been collated. The House will make a serious and honest effort to frame a workable bill, and the vote on the measure, particularly in the Senate (where Senator Lodge introduced the House bill by request), will depend on the activity and earnestness with which the friends and prospective beneficiaries of the project make their demands known.

E. BREWER.

THE SOLUTION OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY CITY PROBLEM.

IN his very able and interesting book, *The New Era*, Dr. Strong, Secretary of the Evangelical Alliance, conclusively proves that the future of society depends for its safety on the general acceptance and practice by the individual members of society of the teachings of Christ. The logic of *The New Era* in proof of that statement seems incontrovertible. He argues not for doctrine but for the carrying into "the daily walk and conversation" of each man and woman the great commandment, "Love thy neighbor as thyself," and of the divine injunction of the Lord Jesus, "Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you."

In his article in the REVIEW for September on "The Problem of the Twentieth Century City," after showing the tremendous and almost unavoidable dangers which will confront society in such cities, he states:

> "The problem of the twentieth century city, therefore, demands for its solution a higher type of citizenship, for which we must look chiefly to those who direct the education of the young. *Evidently our public schools must* give to the children and youth of to-day such instruction in the duties and principles of good citizenship as earlier generations did not have. Literature dealing with American citizenship, adapted to all ages, from the high school down to the kindergarten, should be absorbed by the scholars until an intelligent civic patriotism becomes a matter of course."

Every student must acquiesce in the statement that "the problem demands for its solution a higher type of citizenship." Also that our public schools should give the children and youth of to-day the best instruction in the principles of patriotism and good citizenship. The inference which must be drawn from his statement that earlier generations did not have such training as makes the best citizens, is scarcely warranted, nor will it be borne out by a study of American life from 1740 to 1840. On the contrary, a study of the home and school life of American children of that century will show that the moral and religious training of the youth was of such a kind as produced the best and safest class of men and women.

The inference which must be drawn from Dr. Strong's article, that in the education and training of the youth of the present day there is a lack in the schools of the quality of teaching which is necessary to make the best citizens out of the rising generation, is warranted, I believe, by observation and by study of our educational system. He might even have gone farther and stated that the early home life of a great majority of American children

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to-day, especially in the cities, is rather more unfavorable than favorable to the development in the young mind of the best ideas of citizenship and patriotism. I feel sure that if Dr. Strong were asked the question: Can you inculcate in the youth of our land the highest ideas of good citizenship without thoroughly imbuing them with the fundamental principles of Bible truth and Christian practices? he would unhesitatingly answer no.

The passage which I have quoted from Dr. Strong's article might better have been framed in some such terms as these: "The problem of the twentieth century city, therefore, demands for its solution the highest type of citizenship, and for it we must look chiefly to those who direct the education of the young. *The children and youth of to-day must be given such instruction in the truths of the Bible and Christian precepts*, and in the duties and principles of good citizenship, *as will prevent them in mature years from swinging from their moorings and being swept into the maelstrom of social and religious depravity, which threatens to engulf the civilization of the future.* Literature dealing with American citizenship and pure, religious truths, adapted to all ages, from the high school down to the kindergarten, should be absorbed by the scholars until an intelligent civic patriotism becomes a matter of course."

I hope that Dr. Strong will pardon my correction, as I feel sure that there is no disagreement between him and myself as to the necessity of having the youth of our country as thoroughly imbued with Bible teachings and truths as possible.

Conceded that only the highest type of Christian life can save the civilization of the next century, and that there is a decline in Christian teaching and influence, then that decline must be checked, and that teaching and influence largely increased, or the present form of society and economic organization will be swept away. And what shall we have in its place?

The questions we have to solve then are these: How can the present decline in religious teaching and influence be checked; and how can such teaching and influence be increased to such a point as will preserve the great cities of the next century from depravity, degradation, and destruction?

Christian preachers of all denominations admit that the average church attendance is small and indicates a lack of due religious sentiment among adults. In some religious circles there is almost despair over that fact. There seems to be no prospect that the grown persons of the present generation will be brought under the necessary religious influence. In the minds of our youth, then, must be inculcated the proper principles of religion, citizenship and patriotism. How can our youth best be reached? If the adults of the present age are not as religious as the needs of the hour and of the future require, will the children receive the proper religious training, if they receive none except in the home circle?

I do not believe for a moment that any religious teacher will say that at present, in the average home of the land, the child receives that religious training and discipline which takes sufficient lodgment in the mind. The average parent does not take the time, nor has he the inclination, to train the mind of the child in the truths of the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, Christ's great commandment of brotherly love, and the Apostles' Creed; and unless the truths of these are firmly planted in the mind in early life their influence on the life in mature years is of necessity very limited.

The child whose only home religious training is a scant blessing and a short prayer at family worship is very apt to be but little impressed with

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religious truths and duties. How many hundreds of thousands of them never even hear the scant blessing and the short prayer?

Most of the States of the American Union have now compulsory education laws, and it is very hard for a child to escape a certain amount of education up to its fourteenth year. If a part of that education were made up of teachings from the Bible, and of the instilling into the mind of the child the true meaning of Christ's great Declaration, "Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you," the youth of our country would in a few years be grounded in such principles of right living that any threatened collapse of society would be averted, and in a third of a century a spirit of patriotism founded on Eternal Truth, earthly charity and justice, would be so diffused throughout the land that the preservation of society, through the great humanitarian principles of Christ's teachings, would be assured.

The principle of religious teaching in the public schools is one that meets with intense opposition on the part of the public, and is disapproved of by most teachers. I am firmly convinced that one of the greatest blunders that have been made in our country in the last half century has been the failure to educate the American youth in Bible truths and teachings, and the result of such failure may bring disaster.

The Catholic Church has insisted that it is its duty to educate the children of parents of the Catholic faith in such a way as to fix religious truths in the youthful mind. For this it has been assailed by the non-Catholic population, and Catholics have even been charged with being enemies of the liberties of the people and of the flag. Any careful observer in the city of New York can see that the only people, as a class, who are teaching the children in the way that will secure the future for the best civilization are the Catholics; and, although a Protestant of the firmest kind, I believe the time has come to recognize this fact, and for us all to lay aside religious prejudices and patriotically meet this question.

On every side is heard the statement that there must be a reorganization of society. Ten years ago the man who made that statement was considered an enemy to the public peace. To-day the statement is listened to by the people with respect, and accepted by many. Thousands of the best thinkers of the land believe in and predict a change in our economic organization. Hundreds of thousands of workingmen cast their ballots in the last Presidential election for Mr. Bryan because they believed that he stood for such a change. The line between capital and labor is commencing to be drawn at the polls more than at any other place, and if a majority of the ballots are cast in resentment and in a spirit of class hatred, then we shall have reached a situation fraught with the utmost danger to these United States of America, by the grace of God free and independent.

I repeat what I said above: "The children and youth of to-day must be given such instruction in the truths of the Bible and Christian precepts, and in the duties and principles of good citizenship, as will prevent them in mature years from swinging from their moorings and being swept into the maelstrom of social and religious depravity, which threatens to engulf the civilization of the future." Such instruction can only be given successfully by an almost entire change of policy and practice on the question of religious teaching in the public schools, and the encouragement of private schools in which sound religious teaching is given.

AMASA THORNTON.

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